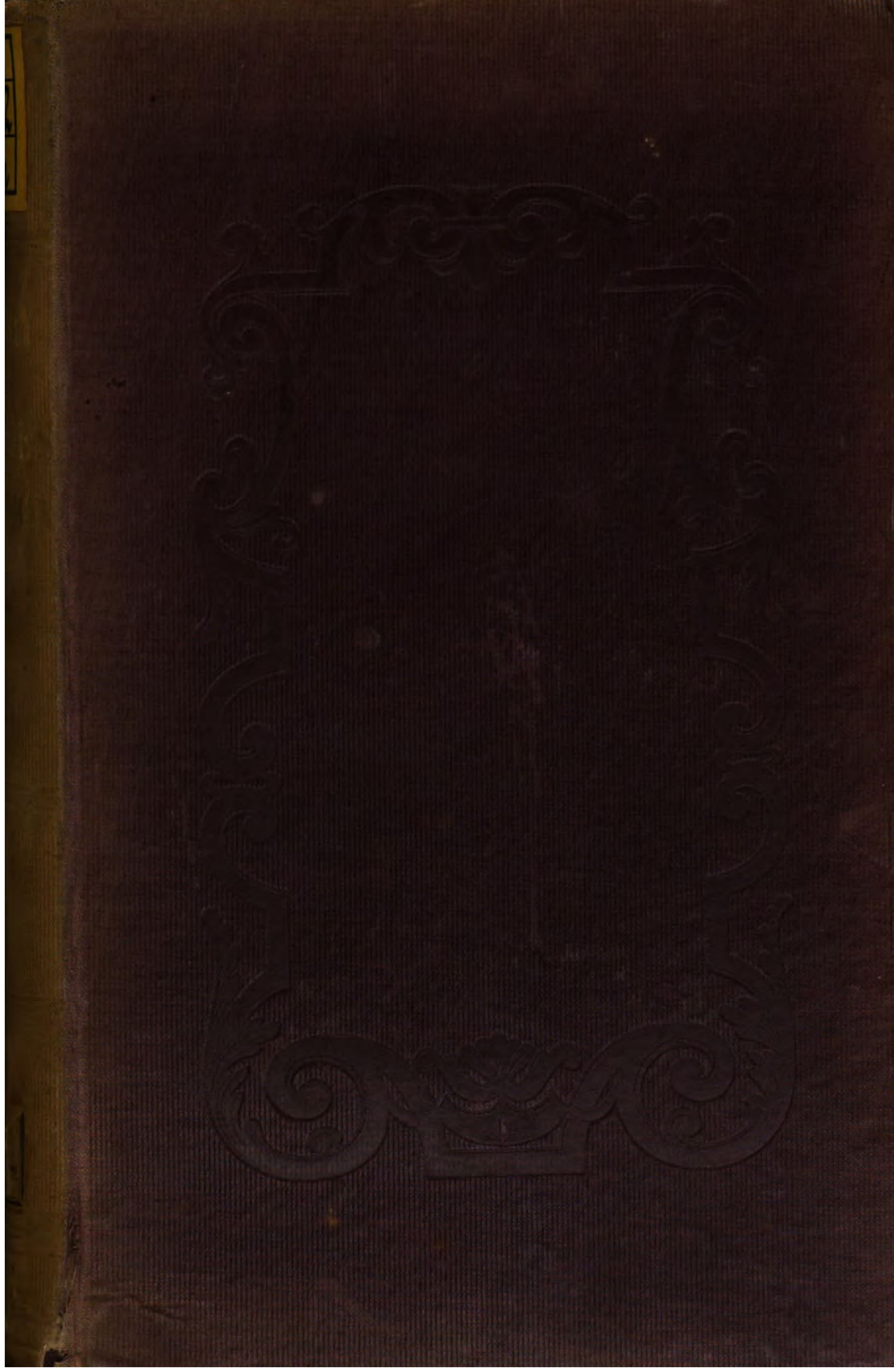




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*From the Original by N. Hilliard, in the possession of
the Rev. R. Newcome, of Ruthin, Denbighshire.*

London, Published by Richard, Bentley, 1839.

THE
COURT OF
KING JAMES THE FIRST;

BY
DR. GODFREY GOODMAN,
BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PERSONAL HISTORY
OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS IN
THE COURT OF THAT MONARCH AND HIS PREDECESSORS.
NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

BY JOHN S. BREWER, M.A.
OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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1839.



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Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

TO

JOSHUA DRINKALD, ESQ.

THESE VOLUMES ARE DEDICATED,

BY THE EDITOR.

LONDON,
MARCH, 1839.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The manuscript copy of these MEMOIRS is preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; but by whose means it was deposited there, or by whom it was given, I have not been able to discover.

It is written in a fair and legible hand: in general without erasure or correction, though some few passages have been corrected or cancelled, of which a remarkable instance occurs in page 132. Little words and connecting particles, and half lines, are sometimes repeated, as if the Manuscript had been written rapidly, without opportunity for complete revision.

These marks of haste and correction, though unimportant in themselves, are so far valuable, as tending to show that the Manuscript is an original. It is attributed to Bishop Goodman, on the authority of a memorandum inserted in it by Bishop Barlow, and upon conclusive internal testimony.

The LETTERS which form the Second Volume

have been collected from various depositories, and supply a general illustration to the Memoirs.

For permission to copy Sir Walter Raleigh's touching and pathetic letter, printed in the Second Volume at page 93, I am indebted to the Warden of All-Souls College, in Oxford, whose kindness I take this opportunity of acknowledging.

J. S. B.

London,
March, 1839.

INTRODUCTION.

GODFREY GOODMAN, the author of these Memoirs, was descended from a respectable family. His uncle, the celebrated Dr. Gabriel Goodman, was for forty years Dean of Westminster, and one of the translators of the English Bible. His father, Godfrey Goodman, Esq. married Jane Cruxton, and resided at Ruthvyn in Denbighshire, where our author was born, in 1583. By the influence of his uncle young Goodman was sent at an early age to Westminster School, where he had the good fortune to be educated under the celebrated historian Camden, of whom he has preserved some interesting notices in these volumes.* From Westminster he removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1600; and, six years after, obtained the living of Stapleford-Abbots in Essex. Obtaining celebrity as a preacher, and supported by the influence of Bishop Andrews, Bishop Vaughan, and Bishop Williams, he was appointed in 1617 to a canonry of Windsor, in 1620 to the deanery of Rochester, and in 1625 he was made Bishop of Gloucester, with leave to hold his canonry of

* Vol. i. p. 34, 126.

Windsor, and the rectory of West Ildesley in Berkshire, *in commendam*.

An earnest and zealous supporter of the church, and a warm advocate for the due observance of its rites and ceremonies, he was not long in drawing upon himself the hatred of the Puritan party, who were at this time rapidly gaining ground, as much from the injudicious policy of James I, as from the disunion in the church itself. When a due regard for the service of God was superstition, and episcopacy was popery, it is not surprising that he provoked the malice of such men as Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne, who preferred a petition to the King against him, "for that he had at his proper cost" (as they expressed it) re-edified and repaired the high cross in the town of Windsor in the county of Berks, near the royal castle; and on one side thereof caused a statue, or picture, about an ell long, of Christ hanging upon the cross, to be erected in colours, with this inscription over it in golden letters—*Jesus Nazareus Rex Judæorum*; and on the other side thereof the picture of Christ rising out of his sepulchre." Another charge was brought against him, in the same petition, for erecting an altar, and causing to be made new altar-cloths, pulpit-cloth, and cushions, with crucifixes engraven on them, for his cathedral church at Gloucester. "And since Xmas last past," continues the petition, "the said Bishop hath superseded one Mr. Ridler, minister of Little Dean, within

the county and diocese of Gloucester, only for preaching against divers gross errors and idolatries of the Papists (of which he had divers in his said parish), and then concluding (according to the homilies and learnedest writers in our church) that an obstinate Papist, dying a Papist, could not be saved, and that if we were saved, the Papists were not; and for refusing to make a formal recantation which the said Bishop prescribed him in writing, in which recantation the said Bishop (who, the last parliament,* presumed to broach no less than six gross points in one sermon before your Majesty, which your Majesty appointed him to recant, tho' he did it not, but obstinately defended them,) most unorthodoxly styled the Church of Rome God's Catholic Church, and in direct terms affirmed that in the eye of the law we are still one with the said Catholic Church, from which we sever only for some political respects; and that it is impossible there should be any greater offence against the Church of England than to say that Papists are damned, in regard of the affinity there is between the two churches; for we have both the same holy orders, the same church service, the same ceremonies, the same fasts, and the same festivals, and we have generally the same canon law; and, therefore, through the sides of the Church of Rome they do but give deadly and mortal wounds to the Church of England who affirm

* 1626.

that Papists are damned. Than which recantation of his making, nothing can be more Popish; it having the Jesuits' I. H. S. in the front, and the Jesuits' doctrine in the bowels of it."*

What was the effect of this petition we are nowhere informed. Probably it neither caused any great alteration in the King's favour towards him, nor produced any modification in the Bishop's proceedings. He had a more serious difference with Archbishop Laud in the celebrated convocation of 1640. On the day before the ending of this convocation, the Bishop of Gloucester, repairing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, acquainted him that he could not in conscience subscribe the canons which had been newly framed. The Archbishop endeavoured earnestly to persuade him, beseeching him to avoid singularity at a time when the church was in so much trouble, and any further disaffection among the clergy would be productive of very dangerous consequences. "However," says the historian Fuller,† who was present, "when we all subscribed the canons, (suffering ourselves, according to the order of such meetings, to be all concluded by the majority of votes, though some of us in the committee privately dissenting in the passing of many particulars,) he alone utterly refused his subscription thereunto. Whereupon the Arch-

* Wood's Athen. ii. 728, n.

† Church Hist. b. iii. p. 408.

bishop being present with us in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, was highly offended at him. 'My Lord of Gloucester,' said he, 'I admonish you to subscribe:' and presently after, 'My Lord of Gloucester, I admonish you the second time to subscribe:' and immediately after, 'I admonish you a third time to subscribe.' To all which the Bishop pleaded conscience, and returned a denial. Then were the judgments of the Bishops severally asked, whether they should proceed to the present suspension of Gloucester for his contempt herein. Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, being demanded his opinion, conceived it fit some lawyers should first be consulted with how far forth the power of a synod did in such cases extend. He added, moreover, that the threefold admonition of a bishop ought solemnly to be done, with some considerable intervals betwixt them, in which the party might have time of convenient deliberation. However, some days after, he was committed (by the King's command as I take it) to the Gate-house, where he got by his restraint what he could never have gained by his liberty; namely, of one reputed Popish to become for a short time popular, as the only confessor suffering for not subscribing the canons."

According to a passage in Wood, quoted from some MS. papers of Archbishop Laud, the Bishop was committed, not before, but after subscription; and was suspended by the general consent of both

houses for refusing to subscribe, for the scandal he had thus brought on the church, till he had given satisfaction to the church and the King.

The Bishop had been reprimanded as early as the year 1626 for maintaining certain unsound opinions in his sermons at court, and a general suspicion was then entertained of his embracing the tenets of the Church of Rome. The Archbishop, on his refusal to subscribe the canons, had taxed him with Popery, which Goodman strenuously denied; and this was, no doubt, the occasion of his imprisonment.

That he adopted views which by many in those times were considered papistical, is undoubtedly true; and might be confirmed by various passages in these Memoirs, and in his last will and testament. These have given occasion to most writers to declare that he lived for some years, and died, in the communion of the Church of Rome. In his Memoirs he is an advocate for auricular confession.* In his will he professed that as he had lived so he died, most constant in all the articles of our Christian faith, and in all the doctrine of God's holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, "whereof," he says, "I do acknowledge the Church of Rome to be the mother church. And I do verily believe that no other church hath any salvation in it, but only so far as it concurs with the faith of the Church of

* Vol. i. ch. v.

Rome." But a sound Protestant might even profess as much ; the only question being what he meant by the terms *mother church*, and *concurs with the faith of the Church of Rome*. A Romanist would rather have professed that the Church of Rome was the only true church, and would scarcely have admitted the possibility of salvation in a church separate and distinct from the Church at Rome. At least, if Goodman was consistent, he (having been so long a member of the Church of England) could scarcely say that he had lived most constant in the faith of the Church of Rome, if he considered the Church of Rome to be the only true Catholic and Apostolic Church.

In 1643 the Bishop was plundered by the rebels, and the chief part of his books and papers dispersed. His losses were so great that he was ashamed to confess them, lest he should bring upon himself the charge of folly and improvidence. During the time of the great rebellion he lived in obscurity in the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, chiefly in the house of Mrs. Sibilla Aglionby ; and employed his time in frequenting the Cottonian Library. At this period these Memoirs were undoubtedly composed, as may be inferred as well from internal evidence, as from the fact that the infamous pamphlet to which they allude had not appeared till the year 1650.

In 1650 he printed an *Account of his sufferings* ;

and in 1653 a theological work, which he dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, entitled *The Two Mysteries of the Christian Religion, the ineffable Trinity and wonderful Incarnation, explicated*. Lond. 1653.

For several years during the latter part of his life, Goodman had been in habits of intimacy with the celebrated Francis à S. Clara, a Dominican friar of great learning and moderation, whose real name was Christopher Davenport.* This ecclesiastic entertained the idea of the possibility of reconciling the Churches of England and Rome; and with this view had composed a short treatise, in which he endeavoured to show that the articles of the Church of England were in accordance with the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, supporting his positions from the writings of Bishop Andrews, Bishop Mountague, Dr. White, and other learned Protestants.†

In his company Goodman died in January 1655, and was buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster, near where the font originally stood; "leaving behind him," says Wood, "the character of a harmless man; that he was hurtful to none but himself, that he was pitiful to the

* He was chaplain to Queen Henrietta, and afterwards to Catharine, Queen of Charles II, and was much noticed by the learned men of his day.

† Prynne has given an analysis of this book in his *life of Laud*, p. 423.

poor, and hospitable to his neighbours." He left several bequests, particularly to poor churchmen, to be distributed at the discretion of his executors, Gabriel Goodman and Mrs. Aglionby. His books, which he had designed to bestow on Chelsea College, were eventually given to Trinity College, Cambridge. His papers he desired should be perused by some competent scholar, and if anything among them was worthy of publication it should be printed; but they were subsequently lost and dispersed. Among other things, he had written a history of the Church of England as settled by law, derived from statutes and public acts, for which he had carefully consulted the library of Sir Thomas Cotton. Besides these, he was the author of a work entitled *The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature proved by Natural Reason*, Lond. 1616 and 1624; which drew him into a controversy with Dr. George Hakewill, who attacked Goodman's opinions in his *Apology for the Power and Providence of God*. Lond. 1627. The controversy is published in the third edition of Hakewill's work.

The character which Wood has given him, in his homely but simple-hearted language, is supported throughout by these Memoirs, now for the first time published; they are as much characteristic of the writer as any book can well be,—ingenuous, unostentatious, unsuspecting. The author writes like a man who describes what he had

seen, in the homely and easy style of one who had no enemy to malign and no party to gratify. He speaks of King James, his "old master," with the kindness and good feelings of an old servant, who had seen his defects, was somewhat blind to his vices, and very kind to his virtues ; of one who, if ever there was a king, was kind-hearted and good-natured even to a fault, and therefore had a right to expect that some kindness should be shown to his memory. Though politically and religiously opposed to Archbishop Williams, though treated with some severity by Archbishop Laud, yet he has praised them both, and left no stain on their memory. Though engaged in a theological controversy with Dr. Hakewill, who writes with a degree of rudeness and asperity which forms a striking contrast to Goodman's natural politeness, yet, when speaking of Hakewill's unbecoming interference in the Spanish Match, he has uttered no ill-natured remark.

Nor was his charity confined to paper : he was a great and yearly benefactor, even in his lowest condition, to Ruthvyn School ; as in his more prosperous estate, to the church over which he presided. And though he fell upon evil times, when the love of many to the church had waxed cold, and more were ready to pull down than to build up, yet his liberality was not restrained to men of his own profession. He was a great encourager of Sir H. Middleton's design of bringing the New

River water to London, "a work beset with as many difficulties," says Lloyd, "as bringing the waters of Bethlehem to David."

In short, he who is so disposed cannot fail of being pleased with our prelate, who was in truth a man of his name. The account which he has here left us of many secret plots and intricate passages of his times is instructive and amusing; and whatever value different readers may attach to his narrative, all must acquit him of dulness or malignity. His work may range with Wilson's for amusement, without Wilson's partiality; with any of the secret memoirs of these reigns without their malevolence and pertinacious dishonesty. And what was said of his fellow-labourer, Bishop Hacket (whose life of Williams is the most valuable record of those times), may truly be said of Bishop Goodman, that nothing but milk and honey lay under his tongue.

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THE COURT OF KING JAMES.

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I CANNOT say that I was an eye and ear witness, but truly I have been an observer of the times, and what I shall relate of my own knowledge, God knows, is most true; my conjecturals I conceive to be true, but do submit them to better judgment. I shall take the liberty of an historian, and whereas the knight* is pleased to speak some things on the word of a gentleman, truly what I write shall be *in verbo sacerdotis*, which I did ever conceive to be an oath. I remember, when in the Lords' House of Parliament, a question was made whether the lords, in any court of justice, should be put to an oath, it was resolved that they ought not, seeing the life of a peer, in case of high trea-

* Sir Anthony Weldon.

son, was no otherwise tried but upon their honour. Upon that occasion my Lord Keeper* remarked, that when noblemen were produced as witnesses, it would give great satisfaction to the subject if they might be brought upon their oaths; whereupon my Lord Weston† replied, that he thought what was spoken upon their honour was spoken upon their oaths, because their greatest honour was their religion, and so the business was concluded. Yet there was one that did whisper, that he had rather take some men upon their honour than upon their religion, for that he feared they did more respect their honour than their religion; but for myself, I shall desire God so to bless me, though I relate nothing but my own private opinion, yet I conceive it to be most true, and that I hate all falsehood and lying.

For the publisher, I conceive him not to be the same with the author; the styles differ, nor is there the same apprehension. He relates many things, as proved in the book, which are no more than touched upon, and are as much proved in his preface as they are in the book. First, how God was mocked‡ with the Tuesday sermons; he

* Williams, afterwards Archbishop of York. Hacket, who tells the same anecdote in his *Life of Williams*, gives it a rather different turn.

† Afterwards Lord Treasurer. His character is drawn by the lively pen of Lord Clarendon in his *History of the Rebellion*, i. 84.

‡ Bishop Goodman refers to the following passage in the publisher's preface to the reader, prefixed to Weldon's book:—

might have forborne these terms, for the exercise was holy, though they might mistake in the ground. But for Gowry's conspiracy, thus much I can say, that when King James went into Scotland, after some thirteen years of his reign here, he professed it was only to give God thanks, in his own native country, to express his love and affection to his countrymen, and that he had not forgotten them; and at that time he did take occasion to go into Gowry's house, and in that very place where the thing was done, there did the king relate the story. This was told me by one that was present; and he that shall consider the deadly feud of that nation, and how many kings have suffered, will not think it improbable; though it is true King James was a most loving prince, and had, at that time, certain hopes of succeeding to the crown, and that Gowry was a man very well beloved, and for the honour of that nation some might palliate it. And hereunto I might add the disposition of King James, who was ever apt to search into secrets, to try conclusions, as I did know some who saw him run to see one in a fit whom they said was bewitched; and therefore to me nothing did seem strange in that

“The reader may take notice how Almighty God was mocked, and the world abused, by the Tuesday sermons at court, and the anniversary festivals upon the 5th of August, in commemoration of King James's deliverance from the Gowry's conspiracy; whereas, indeed, there was no such matter, but a mere feigned thing, as appears by the story.”

history. This I write to the publisher, and I am sorry that, in the end, he takes upon him to interpret God's judgment, which no Christian, wise, discreet man would do.

First, for Queen Elizabeth: I will not undertake to write any characters of princes, yet so far to describe them as will serve for the story I think it necessary. I heard the first Earl of Exeter, Thomas Cecil, say, that at her first coming to the crown, she was a fair and a most beautiful lady; and I have it from good hands, that King Philip the Second of Spain was wont to say, that whatsoever he suffered from Queen Elizabeth he thought it the just judgment of God, for that being married to Queen Mary, whom he thought to be a most virtuous, religious, good lady, yet in the fancy of love he could not affect her; but for the lady Elizabeth, he was enamoured with her; she was a lady very wise, and of an extraordinary courage, but for her princely carriage and behaviour I believe there never was the like.*

* I know of no direct proof in confirmation of this assertion, but it is more than probable, for Elizabeth was indebted to Philip for her safety and liberty. He opposed Queen Mary's desire of declaring Elizabeth illegitimate, resisted the attempt to convey her abroad, and treated her generally with much kindness, as if to oblige the queen to behave to her with respect and civility, who would willingly have punished her for her alleged participation in several conspiracies. Of her personal attractions, at this time, an interesting description, by an eyewitness, is found in Von Raumer's Hist. of the XVI. Cent. &c. "Elizabeth," says the writer, "now twenty-three years old, is a young woman who is considered as not less remarkable for the

Here you shall observe a great difference between the author and myself, for he speaks little good of any man, and if he commends some, it is to disparage others ; as he commends Sir Walter Raleigh to disparage the justice of the state ; he commends Sir Robert Mansell that he might cast the greater aspersion upon the Earl of Northampton ; and now he begins his accusation, (and I pray you mark how justly,) that Sir Robert Cary the Queen's kinsman,* and whose father the Queen had raised, should carry the first news of the Queen's death into Scotland.† You must then understand, that about eleven or twelve of the clock at night the Queen began to be past all hope of life ; it was then necessary

graces of her mind than for those of the body, although it may be said that her countenance is rather pleasing than beautiful. In figure she is tall, well-shaped ; her flesh well to look to, though tending to olive in complexion ; fine eyes, and above all, a beautiful hand, which she seeks to display. Her spirit and her intellect are admirable, so that she knows how to conduct herself, displaying both in times of suspicion and danger. She surpasses her sister in knowledge of languages, for besides knowing Latin and Greek to a moderate extent, she understands Italian better than the Queen, and takes so much pleasure in that language, that she will converse in no other tongue with natives of Italy." This description, as given by one who was unfavourable to her, is the more worthy of credit. Her fondness for displaying the beauty of her hand may be seen in her portrait prefixed to Ellis's Letters. In this print the hand is remarkably prominent.

* He was the youngest son of Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon, who was cousin-german to Queen Elizabeth.

† "No sooner was that sun [Queen Elizabeth] set, but Sir Robert Cary, her near kinsman, and whose family and himself

that this should be concealed, and that the Lord Mayor of London should have special charge to set watch and ward, and to prevent all tumult that should arise. It was also necessary that the King should have notice, he being generally known to be the next heir, and the Queen having so designed him upon her death-bed, so that Sir Robert is so far from being guilty of unthankfulness as indeed he could not do a better office. Moreover it was proper to his place, for being the son of the Lord Chamberlain, no other man was fit to be employed. Besides, I conceive it was a message sent from the body of the Council, for I never heard of any other man sent upon the same errand; and that it was not a private* message we may easily believe,

she had raised from the degree of a mean gentleman to high honour in title and place, most ungratefully did catch at her last breath, to carry it to the rising sun then in Scotland. Notwithstanding a strict charge laid to keep fast all the gates, yet his father being Lord Chamberlain, he by that means found favour to get out to carry the first news; which although it obtained for him the governorship of the Duke of York, yet hath set so wide a mark of ingratitude on him, that it will remain to posterity a greater blot than the honour he obtained afterward will ever wipe out."—Weldon, p. 3.

* In this our author is undoubtedly mistaken: since the privy council, in their letter to James, immediately after the death of the Queen, mention with much acrimony, that Sir Robert had set out upon this message not only without their consent, but also contrary to such commandments as they had power to lay upon him, "and to all decency, good manners, and respect, which he owed to so many persons of their degree." This feeling of annoyance on the part of the council, was probably increased by their consciousness that Sir Robert had

because it was so highly rewarded with the tuition and custody of the second son,* the prince being already disposed of. And he that shall know the Earl of Monmouth will certainly say, that he had no dishonest or unworthy intent; being a plain, honest gentleman. I remember a great lord of the kingdom telling me of the troubles and pressures which he had at court, myself knowing the interest which he had in my Lord Monmouth; I asked him why he did not use his help in making his peace; who answered

outwitted them; they had intended to have detained him whilst they sent another with the news.—See the preface to Sir Robert Cary's *Memoirs*, and the *Memoirs*, p. 180, ed. 1759.

* Charles Duke of York, afterwards Charles the First; the guardianship of Prince Henry had been entrusted to John Erskin, Earl of Marr. This guardianship of the Duke of York was apparently no great mark of James's favour to the Earl of Monmouth. The earl's enemies, at all events, treated it as a presage of his ruin. In his *Memoirs*, the earl says; "There were many great ladies suitors for the keeping of the duke; but when they did see how weak a child he was, and not likely to live, their hearts bore down, and none of them were desirous to take charge of him." The task was indeed one of great difficulty, since the guardians had to contend not only against the duke's natural defects and ill state of health, but likewise against the ill-judged measures of James, who was desirous of counteracting his son's weakness by the harshest and most violent means. The nostrums which he recommended may well bear comparison for oddity and strangeness with those of Martinus Scriblerus. "The queen," continues the earl, "by the approbation of the Lord Chancellor, made choice of my wife to have the care and keeping of the duke. Those who wished me no good were glad of it, thinking that if the duke should die in our charge (his weakness being such as gave them just

me, that I did not know the Earl of Monmouth, for that he was no fit man to have such employment; and therefore I suppose that no man of discretion will brand him with a wide mark of ingratitude.

In proclaiming the King, he forgets one circumstance, that the Lords coming to London, Ludgate was shut, and there the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen were, who, seeing the Lords, told them that none should come into the city unless they came with an intent to proclaim James King of Scots King of England. They replied, they came with no other intent, and did promise, upon their honour, that they would proclaim him. The Lord

cause to suspect it), then it would not be thought fit that we should remain in court after.—The duke was passed four years old when he was first delivered to my wife; he was not able to go nor scarce stand alone; he was so weak in his joints, and especially in his ancles, insomuch as many feared they were out of joint. Yet God so blessed him both with health and strength that he proved daily stronger and stronger. Many a battle my wife had with the King, but she still prevailed. The King was desirous that the string under his tongue should be cut, for he was so long beginning to speak as he thought he would never have spoken. Then he would have him put in iron boots, to strengthen his sinews and joints; but my wife protested so much against them both as she got the victory, and the King was fain to yield. My wife had the charge of him from a little past four till he was almost eleven years old: in all which time he daily grew more and more in health and strength both in body and mind.”—Cary’s Memoirs, p. 201.

King Charles had an impediment in his speech to the end of his days. But it was remarked that at his trial, and on the scaffold, it was less apparent than at any other time.

Mayor* replied, that it was no sufficient security and assurance to take their honours' word in so great a business, and that he would have better security; whereupon one or two of the Lords pulled off their blue ribbons, together with their Georges, and did mortgage them that they would proclaim none other, and then they were admitted, and did proclaim King James accordingly. This was done to show their unanimous consent, and the King's undoubted title.

And whereas he relates that all the preparation was for the King's coming,† truly he forgets that there was very much preparation for the Queen's funeral, which was performed with much magnificence and state; and well they may be, for that she made no last will and testament; she left full coffers and no debts. I cannot say whether she did this out of her love to her successor, but she did not like to hear of death, and I believe that no man durst put her in mind of making her will.‡

* Sir Robert Lee. The truth of this anecdote is confirmed by Johnstone, *Hist. Brit.* p. 359.

† Villeroi seems shocked at the joy displayed by all parties on the accession of James. "The people of London," says he, "appear strangely barbarous and ungrateful to the memory of Elizabeth, in that after such long standing and almost idolatrous worship, they lighted, on the day of her decease, bonfires in honour of her successor."—Von Raumer's *Hist. of the XVI. Cent.* ii. 194.

‡ The Queen's jealousy on this score and the appointment of her successor, was excessive. In a letter written but shortly previous to the Queen's death, Lord Howard, speaking of King James, says—"Such is her fear of settling his majesty in any

And whereas he speaks of kingcraft in reconciling any difference, truly if the King had some time used such a word, yet it should have been forgotten, since all men do know he had an open heart, and did make little use of any kingcraft; and the author himself reports that he was cozened almost in every treaty; neither was there any such difference composed, for in all his time there was a jealousy between himself and his parliament.

Now for Sir Roger Aston, who was a very plain, honest, worthy gentleman, and was a messenger employed, but not the chief man, as the author informs us; but at that time the Earl of Marr*

English state, that may give possession or elbow-room, when every man begins to see more light, at lesser holes, than she could wish."—Cecil's Secret Correspondence, p. 1.

* John Erskine, seventh Earl of Marr, was bred up with James VI. by George Buchanan, under the eye of the Countess of Marr, his mother. By the insinuations of the Regent Morton, he formed a plot against his uncle, deprived him of the government of Stirling Castle, and obtained possession of the King's person and the fortress. He joined the Ruthven conspirators in 1582, and after various alternations of success, succeeded in expelling Arran, the King's favourite, in 1585. From this period he appears to have lived on good terms with James, for in 1595 he was entrusted with the guardianship of Prince Henry, and was employed by James in his secret negotiations for ensuring his succession to the throne of Elizabeth. He accompanied the King to England in 1603, but not till he had incurred the unappeasable resentment of Anne, the Queen of James I., for detaining her children from her, who, according to Spottiswood, fell into so violent a passion that it brought on a fever and caused abortion. He was the same year sworn a privy councillor, and received various grants from James, who appointed him, in 1615, high treasurer of Scotland. He died at Stirling, 14th December 1634.—See Douglas' Peerage,

was lord ambassador, and Mr. James Hudson was the King's agent;* and at that time more employed by the Queen than Sir Roger Aston, whereof I will give you this one instance.

The Queen did ever desire to break off the league between France and Scotland, which she might the more easily do in regard of the great troubles which were in France. After the death of Henry the Second, the French King, and the great tumults and seditions which were then in Scotland, it fell out so that Ludovic, Duke of Lennox,† afterwards Duke of Richmond, coming

by Wood, ii. 213. Of the intrigues which arose upon the guardianship of the prince being committed to the Earl of Marr, see Birch's *Prince Henry*, p. 11. The King's letter to his wife, full of good sense and good feeling, in which he endeavours to pacify her resentment, is well worthy perusal: it is in Dalrymple's *Memorials*, p. 185.

* After his return into Scotland, he was in frequent correspondence with the Earl of Essex, and Anthony Bacon, brother to the celebrated Sir Francis Bacon.

† Ludovick Stuart, second Duke of Lennox, eldest son of Esme Stuart, Lord of Aubigny. He succeeded his father in 1583, and was soon after, by order of King James, brought over from France, where his father resided. In 1601 he was sent ambassador into France to Henry IV., with whom James had contracted a great friendship; and upon his return home spent three weeks in London, where he was splendidly entertained by the Queen, who, however, viewed not his mission without considerable feelings of jealousy, conceiving that he was intriguing with her court to secure the succession of his master. He was created Earl of Richmond in 1613, Earl of Newcastle and Duke of Richmond in May 1623, and died in the year following.—*Douglas' Peerage*, by Wood, p. 100. See his character in Spottiswood, p. 546.

into Scotland (whom the King then made duke for the honour of the house whereof he was descended), he gave him the keeping of the castle of Edinborough.

The Queen, having ever had a great and a high hand in governing of and managing the affairs in Scotland, (insomuch that the Queen of Scots was wont to say, that Queen Elizabeth governed as much in Scotland as she did in England,) did sometimes take occasion to require some things of the King of Scots only to accustom him to his obedience, whereupon the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh sends for Mr. James Hudson to the Court, who, coming thither, told Mr. Hudson, that the Queen would speak with him, and his lordship instantly called one of the ladies, and wished her to bring Mr. James Hudson to the Queen; and coming thither the Queen called for a box whereof she herself had the key, and whilst she was opening the box, she told Mr. Hudson, there was never a man in England did know the secrets she had in that box. Then taking pen and paper, she told Mr. Hudson she would have him to go into Scotland upon this business; that whereas she heard that Lennox was lately come over, and that he was born in France and held correspondence with the French, she thought it not fit that Edinborough Castle should be committed to his custody, and therefore wished the King to remove him and appoint some other; that she

would not write unto him to that purpose, but only left it to him to do the message; yet she wrote a letter to this effect. "This bearer is our subject born, and your servant sworn, repose trust in him for any message he shall deliver unto you." Mr. Hudson went instantly into Scotland, and knowing it to be an ungrateful message unto his master, and being sorry that he should be the messenger, he thought fit to lodge in the suburbs, and not to see the King for the four first days; yet it being known that he was in town, they might conceive that he was there upon occasion of some private business of his own, so after four days he came into the court, pretending no business at all; at length speaking with the King in private, he delivered his letter, desiring his majesty to pardon him, that he was the messenger, and then delivered his message fully.

The King fell into a great chafe, as indeed for the instant he was very apt for passion, but after a little deliberation he was as temperate as any man living. At first he brake out into these words: "What hath the Queen to do with me? why should not I dispose of my own as fully as she doth of her's? why should I disgrace my near kinsman? or why shall I show myself an inconstant wavering man? It may fall out in time that I shall give nothing without the Queen's leave." But after this passion was over, Mr.

Hudson put him in mind how often he had promised and engaged himself to observe the Queen more than all the princes living; that old ladies must not be displeased for small matters; that his majesty might gratify his kinsman some other way: then he told his majesty that the occasion of his staying in town so long from his majesty was, that no notice may be taken of his message. This I write to show that Sir Roger Aston was not the only man employed by the King, nor the chief man, which shall farther appear by this.

A little before the death of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Benett was preferred, being Dean of Windsor and Master of St. Cross's, to be Bishop of Hereford, whereby his former preferments became void; Dr. Tomson was preferred to be Dean of Windsor, being preferred by the Knights of the Garter (for the Dean of Windsor was the register of that order): but for the mastership of St. Cross's, which is worth much about £800 per annum, it was not given, but intended for George Brooks. Now King James coming to the crown, finding the place to be void, conferred it upon James Hudson, but before it was fully past, the King being put in mind that the place did belong to a churchman, Mr. Hudson gave way, so that having some reasonable consideration from Sir Thomas Lake, it was bestowed upon his brother Dr. Lake, the King very well know-

ing that neither my Lord Cobham,* nor his brother Mr. George Brooks and Sir Walter Raleigh, were so well beloved at that time, but the King might displace them, and they never be pitied. So the King made the Earl of Northampton Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and the Earl of Kelly, Captain of the Guard.†

* The following information respecting Cobham's quarrel with Cecil respecting one of these new appointments is found in a MS. Diary, Harl. 5353.

"I heard there had been a foul jar betwixt Sir Robt. Cecil and the Lord Cobham upon this occasion, because the lords and late council upon the Queen's death had thought good to appoint another captain of the guard, because Sir Walter Raleigh was then absent; which the Lord Cobham took in foul dudgeon, as if it had been the device of Sir Robert, and would have been himself deputy to Sir Walter rather. And after, the Lord Cobham likewise at subscribing to the proclamation took exception against the E. of Clanricarde, inepte, intempestive; but he is now gone to the King, they said." Cobham went but to little purpose: "The Lord Cobham is, as I understand, lately returned from his majesty discontented." MS. Letter in Sloane. The reason will be seen in Cecil's Secret Correspondence.

† Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar, born in 1566, the same year with King James, with whom he was educated from his childhood, and thereby procured a great share of the royal favour. In 1585, the King appointed him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. On the celebrated 5th of August, he was one of those who rescued James from the treasonable attempts of the Earl of Gowry, killing Alexander Ruthven, the earl's brother, with his own hand. He was associated with the Duke of Lennox in his embassy to France. In 1603, attending King James into England, he was appointed Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, in the place of Sir Walter Raleigh; and, after various dignities and rewards were conferred upon him, was, in 1619, advanced to the dignity of Earl of Kelly. He died in

And whereas* complaint is made of the baseness of the Lords for courting Sir Roger Aston,† truly I think it was nothing but civil courtesy in them. This I know to be true, that Sir Roger Aston having begged a small suit of the Lord Keeper, the Countess of Suffolk and her friends were very earnest and importunate suitors unto Sir Roger Aston, that he would be pleased to part with it; but Sir Roger would not be entreated, although he did estimate the thing but at fifty pounds. And when, after much importunity, he had given the denial, he broke into these words:—"They will give me nothing, and I will give them nothing." So it should seem there was not such correspondency as the author reports. And whereas it is said further, that great offices and places would not be accepted from King Charles, truly in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth the court was very much neglected, which was an occasion of her melancholy.‡ But I do not desire to speak to the

1639.—See Douglas' Peerage, by Wood, ii. 17. His third wife was the rich widow of Sir John Packington. Of the patching up of this match, Goodman gives a curious anecdote in the latter part of this volume.

* By Sir Ant. Weldon.

† Sir Roger Aston was the natural son of John Aston, of Aston in Cheshire; he was bred entirely in Scotland, and was made groom of the bed-chamber to James VI. who, when King of England, created him master of the great wardrobe. He died May 23, 1612. Wood's Fast. i. 173.

‡ Not only was the court neglected, but the Queen and her people also were in very "contrary terms," as James expresses it to the Earl of Marr. See Cecil's Correspondence, i. p. 73.

disparagement of any, and therefore herein I do quote Mr. Camden for my author, though I was an eye-witness myself.

As for the Queen's private dancing when Sir Roger Aston had occasion to speak with her, I wonder why he does not rather insist on the famous dancing in the entertainment of Duke Prusiano, about two years before the Queen's death, when the French king, Henry the Fourth, matching with a daughter of Florence, many nobles of Italy came to attend her to Paris; and when the solemnity of the marriage was past, Duke Prusiano,* a very courteous and brave nobleman, did resolve to come over to see England, and to come in a private way. Our ambassador in France, hearing thereof, gave notice to our secretary, who acquainting her majesty therewith, order was taken that one should come in his company, to be a spy upon him, to know his lodgings and to discover his person. The duke (as the fashion was) came to the court upon a Sunday, to see the Queen go to the chapel. The Queen having notice of this, and knowing him by one that stood next to him, as she came by took some occasion to call the lord chamberlain, as I take it, to tie her shoe-strings, or to do some such like office; and there making a stay, she took the duke by the hand, who followed her into the privy chamber. She

* Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, first cousin of Marie de' Medici.

did then graciously use him, and after feasted him, and gave him great entertainment, which was very well taken by the French king and queen : and then did the Queen dance a galliard very comely, and like herself, to show the vigour of her old age. He that would relate those private dancings should not have forgotten this, so famous and so well known ; for even the Italians did then say that it was a wonder to see an old woman, the head of the church, being seventy years of age, to dance in that manner, and to perform her part so well.* This had been fitter to be related than the private dancing before Sir Roger Aston, or the dancing in Suffolk-house with Symons.

Sir Roger Aston, whom I had cause to know, was a very honest, plain-dealing man, no dissembler, neither did he any ill office to any man.† Let me also say so much for my old master King James, now with God : no man living did ever love an honest man more than he did. This I ascribe not only to his own goodness, (for as yet I never knew any man who had so great an understanding, and so great an affection, and such a violent passion of love as he had,) but like-

* De Beaumont mentions her giving a great banquet at Richmond to the Duke of Nevers ; and that, after dinner, she opened the ball with him, in a galliard, which she danced with wonderful agility.—Von Raumer's Hist. of XVI. Cent. ii. 180.

† This Sir Roger Aston was in correspondence with Cecil, and furnished him with reports of proceedings in Scotland, about the last twenty years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

wise to the lamentable experience of those factious times in Scotland, which continued all his youth, insomuch that no man durst scarce be in a low room in his own house by night for fear of pistoling; and therefore no marvel if the King made much of them whom he found entirely honest.

As much may be said for Sir George Hewme.* And here I must acquaint you what I heard the Earl of Bristol speak in parliament, who was the nobleman appointed to report unto both houses what had passed between ours and the Scottish commissioners,† in the treaty between the two

* George Home, third son of Alexander Home, one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to James VI. He attended his majesty into England in 1603, and possessed considerable influence in the affairs of this kingdom. Spottiswoode describes him as a man of deep wit, few words, and in his majesty's service no less faithful than fortunate. The most difficult affair he compassed without noise, and never returned without having fulfilled his mission. In 1605, he was created Earl of Dunbar; he was likewise Chancellor of the Exchequer in England. Upon him the King principally depended for restoring the episcopal order in Scotland; and this service he managed with so much dexterity, as to carry through the act for that purpose, in the parliament held at Perth, 9th July 1606. Dunbar died at Whitehall, 29th Jan. 1611. — See Douglas's Peerage, i. 453.

† The comments made upon this proceeding by the Scotch ministers are so characteristic, told with so much arch simplicity by Balfour, that I scruple not to lay it before the reader.

“ In December this zeire, a generall assembly of the church was holdin at Linlithgow; quherin, amongst other bussines, his matie by his letters recomendit to the assembly the taking stricte order withe papists, jesuits, and semenarey priests, with-

kingdoms. When the Scotch had spoken of many great privileges and immunities which they had, and our lords did but wonder at it, how such privileges could stand with regal government; one of the Scots said, "We have a cold country, a barren country, and no men would inhabit there if they had not some immunities above other nations." And indeed they had many, but especially that they have hereditary sheriffs; and in their church they have not that orderly government by bishops. But as the furious zeal of some ministers and their seditious preaching might occasion great troubles, these King James did fully resolve to reform and to alter.

This caused him to be extraordinary bountiful to that nation, and to express an extraordinary out exceptione of persons; and that they should take heed that people should not chocke the good seed of the Evangell. Diversse of the more preceisse amongst the ministry tooke this pious and religious admonitione of the king's as creame and oyle to soften and smouthe hes misteriousesainges and daylie adwancing of the estat of bishops, with new previldges, wich daylie encrotched more and more, to the suppressing of the free liberties of this churche.—For it was notoriously understood and manifestly knowne to the wyssest, that the Earle of Dumbar, his Majestie's Thesaurer of Scotland, distributted amongst the most neiddey and clamorous of the ministrey, to obteine their woyces and suffrages (or ells move them to be neutralls) 40 thousand merkes of money to facilitat the bussines intendit, and cause matters goe the smouthlier on. Which misterey of stait came thereafter to light by the wiew of the Lord Thesaurer Dumbar his comptes.—Which compte wes shoven to Kinge Charles at the tretty of the Birckes long thereafter, in A° 1639." —Balfour, ii. 17.

love to his own countrymen, which though it proceeded from his own natural affection, yet it might be accompanied with prudence, and such political ends ; and no doubt but the Scots had formerly very far engaged themselves, and showed great forwardness in defence of his title to this crown ; and though there was no use of their help, yet the King in honour thought fit to reward them ; and this he might then very well do, considering his revenues, and in what good state he found all things belonging to the crown. Now it was necessary for him to have some man of great wisdom and judgment to make a yearly visitation of Scotland, and to carry with him always two of the King's chaplains, who by their grave carriage and preaching might prepare the way to episcopal government, which he himself resolved to settle at his first going into Scotland, which indeed he did at that time, to the great contentment of the Scottish nation ; and this was the Earl of Dunbar's principal employment. Besides, no man was so tender of the King's prerogative, or anything that might concern his good, and the King ever found him a most honest, trusty servant.

Indeed, Sir Walter Rawleigh, though a condemned prisoner, yet had a good project. Seeing that the union of the two kingdoms could not pass by act of parliament, for the inconvenience was wonderful, that the nobility of both nations

should be united, that the Scots should come to our parliament though they have not the same laws nor customs, that the number of members serving in parliament should be so much multiplied, with many other inconveniences which might hinder the union, therefore Sir Walter did wish that some places in England were annexed to some places in government in Scotland, and that officers should not long continue in those places. But I never heard that the King took this into consideration, but used the Earl of Dunbar for some designs, which I suppose took little effect, for he died before the King's going into Scotland.*

How much doth he vilify Gowrie's conspiracy, yet produceth no ground for his opinion, nor any probability ! Whereas he sayeth that the Earl of Holderness† did believe things to be true which were not ; certainly that he killed a couple here, and that the Earl of Kelly was wounded in the

* He went into Scotland in the year 1617.

† John Ramsey Earl of Holderness. He was page to King James ; and whilst attending on him at the house of the Earl of Gowrie, he assisted in rescuing the King from the traitorous attacks of the earl. For this service he was created Viscount Hadington, and had an arm holding a naked sword, with a crown on the middle and a heart at the point, impaled with his own arms, with this motto: *Hæc dextra vindex principis et patriæ*. He attended James into England ; and in 1620, was created Baron of Kingston and Earl of Holderness, with this special addition of honour, that upon the 5th of August, the anniversary of the King's deliverance, he and his heirs male for ever should bear the sword of state before the King in commemoration of that event.—Dugdale's Baronage, ii. 444.

fight, cannot be denied; that he and his brother and friends did live at a high rate only at the King's cost; that he married the daughter of the Earl of Sussex, who had a great estate and no issue male, and that he had continual access to the King and divers good suits to the King, cannot be denied; and therefore he might have forborne to have insisted on God's judgments.

Now for Sir Robert Cecil's coming to York, and lying close, unseen and unknown there, if my memory do not utterly fail me, Sir Anthony Weldon doth exceedingly mistake; for at that time I did confer with some who did belong to Sir Robert Cecil, and then did I hear that, after Sir Robert Cary had acquainted the King with the death of Queen Elizabeth, which I suppose was a message sent by the whole body of the council,* the King instantly sends to the council to confirm them in their places, and to give them encouragement in the executing of their offices for the quiet and welfare of the kingdom during his pleasure; hence Sir Robert Cecil was continued secretary. And because it belongs to that office to be in great nearness and readiness to attend the King's person, therefore he resolved that as soon as ever the King came within the limits and bounds of England, he would then wait on his majesty. But first he be-thought himself who should recommend him; and at first he resolved upon the Earl of Marr, because

* See note, p. 6.

he was the King's ordinary ambassador here, and was an eye-witness with what respect he had ever carried himself to the King, and how much he had furthered his business; as namely, I think, that when the Earl of Essex was powerful at court, he did then make a motion, to some private friends, that when the time came the King of Scots might be accepted with some conditions. This note, under the earl's hand, was kept and produced by the secretary, and at the very instant time when it was debated in council, I have heard it, by credible persons, that Sir John Fortescue, chancellor of the exchequer,* did then very moderately

* A passage occurs in one of Lord Northampton's letters to the Earl of Marr which shows this man's character, and furnishes a probable reason (for the letter was of course shown to James) why he never rose high in the King's favour.

"Sir John Fortescue speaking, awhile ago, with a dear friend of his own, of the weakness of the time, said, that his comfort was that he was as old and weak as the time itself, being born in the same year with the Queen; but yet he would advise his son to take a right course, when the hour came, without taking knowledge in the mean time of any person or pretension; for he had found by experience, that they that met Queen Mary at London were as well accepted (standing free from farther combination) as they that went to Framingham, and that they that came into the vineyard *hora undecima* had *denarium* as well as they that had sweat before all their fellows. The practice of opponents, as he thought, would cause the labor of all men to be holden and accounted meritorious, that had so much discretion, as in the mean time to be select and indifferent."—Cecil's Secret Correspondence, 128. This Sir John Fortescue assisted Camden in writing the History of Queen Elizabeth: the historian commends him as an upright and a learned man.

and mildly ask, whether any conditions should be proposed to the King? which the Earl of Northumberland,* then present, hearing, made a protestation, that if any man should offer to make any proposition to the King, he would instantly raise an army against him;† and this was taken so unkindly

* Henry Percy, ninth Earl.

† This is not easily reconciled with the information which Northampton sends to Bruce, in Cecil's Secret Correspondence, p. 30. There he represents "that Cobham, Raleigh, and Northumberland met every day at Durham-house to hatch the cockatrice eggs they were daily sitting upon: that Northumberland, who represented himself to be omnipotent in the good conceit of his majesty, was employed by them to entrap Cecil and fish out his secrets, probably with a view to ruin him with the Queen, but that he was so well paid in his own coin by Cecil; as the fool, finding that he had set up his candle to a wrong saint, began to work back again, and told his own wife, that he had rather the King of Scots were buried than crowned, and that both he and all his friends would end their lives before her brother's‡ great god should reign in this element. The lady told him again, that rather than any other than King James should ever reign in this place, she would eat their hearts in salt, though she were brought to the gallows instantly. He told her, that the secretary (Cecil) had too much wit ever to live under a man that had a foreign stock, having been so fortunate under a woman that was tractable and to be counselled. The lady told him, that he need not long triumph upon her poor brother's mishap, for if he (Northumberland) kept in this mind, she could expect no better end of him than the same, or a worse destiny." The anecdote is too racy and too characteristic of Northumberland and his lady, who lived not upon the sweetest and most courteous terms, to be the mere effusion of Northampton's brains; otherwise one might

‡ Northumberland's wife was sister to Robert Earl of Essex, James's warm adherent. She was "of a very melancholy spirit," and he unfaithful. See Diary in the Harl. MS. 5353.

of Sir John Fortescue* by the King, that he never favoured him, and the King took it so kindly of the Earl of Northumberland, that afterwards, in the gunpowder treason, he would not suffer him to come to any trial for his life, though it is certain that the chief man in that treason was his

have suspected that it was merely of a complexion with the rest of his letters, in which he shows a manifest attempt to disparage Raleigh, Cobham, and Northumberland. It would seem, indeed, as though both parties were ambitious of obtaining the favour and countenance of James; both anxious to anticipate the other in securing his accession, that they might thereby promote their own interests: or, as Northampton says of his rivals, both desirous to win the start of others, and for their own advancement to contend for the advantage of engraving their names in a *rasa tabula* of the King's favour, having first wiped away the impressions which they supposed to be contained there. The object of both, therefore, was to represent their rivals in as unfavourable colours as they could devise.—See particularly pp. 66, 87, 107, from which it is evident that both Northampton and Cecil were much annoyed at James having reposed more confidence in Northumberland than they desired or thought prudent.

The letter of Northampton above referred to is altogether one of the most curious and important in the whole collection. But was he not as much outwitted by Cecil as were Cobham and Raleigh?

* Neither to Raleigh nor to Fortescue, though both concurred in these sentiments, did James immediately show his displeasure, as appears by a letter of Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Thomas Parry, printed in Ellis, iii. 82.—“Amongst other donations,” he says, “I omitted in my last to tell your lordship how his majesty hath released to Sir W. Raleigh the annuity of £300 a year, which was paid out of his government of Jersy.”

“The Queen lieth this night at Sir John Fortescue's, where the King meets her. She giveth great contentment to the world in her fashion and courteous behaviour to the people.”

kinsman, and one whom he had made pensioner. What further proofs there were might appear by the greatness of his fine in the Star Chamber, and his long imprisonment, &c.

Secretary Cecil did then consider that the Earl of Marr might be ambassador here because Queen Elizabeth did affect him; for he was one of the lords who did intercept the King's person, and did imprison him in Scotland, about the year of our Lord 1584, wherein it is thought they had some encouragement from England, and therefore the King to be rid of him did make him ambassador.* And I do not remember that the King did greatly reward him; he made him indeed Knight of the Garter, but for any office or any profitable suit, I do not remember that he had any.

Secretary Cecil then hearing that Sir George Hewme was the great man in the King's favour, he did address himself, as reason he should, only to him, and presented him with a 1000*l*. and this was

* Against this, however, there is a strong presumption in the fact that the Earl of Marr was one of the secret correspondents between James and Cecil: unless, which is not unlikely, both Marr and Northampton were flattered and deceived with the idea of their being principals, when in fact they were only in the by-play of the plot. When James succeeded to the throne of England, the Earl of Marr possessed more weight, according to a diplomatic report of M. de Villeroi, than any one else, English or Scotch. He was favoured by Cecil, Hume, Bruce, and Erskine, and was the head of the party opposed to the Queen, who apparently was never completely reconciled to him. —See Von Raumer's Hist. of XVI. Cent. ii. 192.

upon the King's first entrance into England. For, like a wise man, he would not go into Scotland, least he might seem to encroach upon Secretary Weston's office ; neither would he be wanting in his own duty, and therefore took the first occasion to present himself. When the King had spoken with him, he dismissed him and sent him about some special employment ; and as we heard in Cambridge, for he was our chancellor and we hearkened after him, that the King should say, he was a little man, but a very wise man. At the same time Dr. Nevile, Dean of Canterbury, was sent to the King, being then upon the borders of England, with letters from the bishops and clergy to congratulate his coming, and humbly to desire his favour to the church, and to receive such directions as his majesty should be pleased to command.* And here we scholars did a little

* Fuller, in his quaint and lively style, thus describes the postings backwards and forwards of the various candidates for the King's favour :

“ And now it is strange with what assiduity and diligence the two potent parties, the defenders of episcopacy and presbytery, with equal hopes of success, made (besides particular and private addresses) public and visible applications to King James, the first to continue, the latter to restore, or rather set up their government. So that whilst each side was jealous his rival should get the start by early stirring, and rise first in the King's favour, such was their vigilancy that neither may seem to go to bed ; incessantly diligent, both before and since the Queen's death, in despatching posts and messages into Scotland to advance their several designs. We take notice of two principal : — Mr. Lewis Puckering, a Northamptonshire gentleman,

blame our chancellor, Secretary Cecil, that he had not invited the King in his journey to see Cambridge, when no doubt the King would have taken much content to show himself and his learning in scholastical exercises; for he was an excellent scholar and spake Latin very readily; but he was then lodged at Hinchinbrooke, a small house near Huntingdon. This puts me in mind of a merry passage between the King and Count Gondomar, the great Spanish ambassador, who at one time had some occasion to confer in Latin, and the ambassador speaking false Latin, and sometimes not able to express himself, he told the King, that he spake Latin like a king, and that his majesty spake like a Master of Arts, and so he excused himself and his false Latin.

Now how incredible it is that the secretary should stay until the body of the council did

zealous for the presbyterian party, was the third person of quality, who riding incredibly swift, (good news makes good horsemen,) brought King James the tidings of Queen Elizabeth's death. But how far, and with what answer he moved the King, in that cause, is uncertain. Dr. Thomas Neville, Dean of Canterbury, came into Scotland some days after him, (except any will say that he comes first, who comes really to effect what he was sent for,) being solemnly employed by Archbishop Whitgift to his majesty, in the name of the bishops and clergy of England to tender their bounden duties, and to understand his highness pleasure for the ordering and guiding of ecclesiastical causes. He brought back a welcome answer, to such as sent him, of his highness purpose, which was to uphold and maintain the government of the late Queen, as she left it settled." Fuller's Church Hist. Bk. ix. p. 5.

meet the King at York, as if there were no greater attendance expected from a secretary than from a privy councillor, and that in York he should lie lurking there and not be known; these things are not credible: but that the King should first take state at York and put his court into an English fashion, this seems very probable, for there was no such state observed in Scotland. And I will further add, that no king, I am sure, in Christendom, did observe such state and carried such a distance from the subjects as the kings and queens of England did; and I have spoken with several gentlemen who were in every king's court, and have told me so much upon their own certain knowledge and experience; and I do verily believe that the kings of England have suffered very great disadvantage thereby, for want of true information.

But how far Secretary Cecil had been the King's faithful servant shall appear by the King's own testimony. It should seem that the secretary in his last sickness, taking order in his will for his burial, did appoint his own chaplain, Dr. Mountain, Dean of Westminster, to preach at his funeral, and did enjoin him that he should not speak one word in his commendation. The dean did observe his commands, and did not speak one word of his own, but considering that when his father the Lord Burleigh, that great statesman, was buried in the year 1598, that

then Queen Elizabeth gave him an honourable title, viz. *Pater pacis patriæ*, (which I myself did see, for I was present and did wait at the funeral,) so it was thought fit to desire the King's testimony, and that to be published in the sermon, which I do verily believe was procured by the means of John Murray, afterwards Earl of Annandale,* who was of the bedchamber, and a very powerful man, and always held very great correspondence with the secretary, and I believe got many a 1000*l*. by his assignment. The King wrote and did acknowledge that for some six years before the Queen died he held correspondence with him, and that he found him a very wise, able, faithful servant, with something else in his commendation. The like testimony did the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst,† afterwards Earl of Dorset, give him in his last will and testament.

Now you shall observe, that the correspondence

* John Murray, Earl of Annandale, son of Sir Charles Murray of Cockpool. He was first brought into notice by the Earl of Morton, and was appointed one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber and master of the horse to King James. He accompanied the King into England as one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber, enjoying the highest credit at court, and the greatest share of the King's favour. This influence, of course, together with the favours lavished upon him by James, soon made him affluent; for as he was by no means nice as to whom he sold his influence or from whom he took money, he rapidly acquired one of the best estates in Scotland. On the 13th of March 1625, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Annandale, and died in 1640.—Douglas's Peerage, i. 69.

† Thomas Sackville, celebrated for his poetical talents.

held with the King of Scots was ever sent by the French post and not by Berwick, for he knew that the Queen, being most wise, was ever jealous and suspicious of such correspondency; and no doubt but she had her spies to discover it; and her majesty one day walking in Greenwich Park heard the post blow his horn, whereupon she caused the post to be brought unto her and willed him to lay down his packet of letters, for that she would peruse them. The news was brought to the secretary, who instantly hastens and kneels before the Queen, and humbly beseecheth her majesty not to disgrace him in that manner, for that all men would conceive it to be out of a jealousy and suspicion of him, which would much tend to his dishonour and disgrace, whereby he should be disenabled to do her majesty that good service which otherwise he might; and seeing that never any prince did the like, and that it might be a warning and discouragement to other servants; whereupon the Queen was over-entreated to desist, and no doubt but by the entreaty of the ladies and others there present.

I can but wonder at so many malicious, false reports respecting Secretary Cecil; such, for instance, as, “the ill offices done by him to this nation, enhancing the royal prerogative, enslaving the nation, burning cart-loads of parliament precedents, which spake the subjects’ liberty, for making baronets,” &c. If they had been true, no

doubt but the parliament would have impeached him of high treason ; but I have heard it from very credible persons, that he was always very tender of the liberty of the subject, and I will bring some proofs of it. Sir Walter Pye, attorney of the Court of Wards, who had served as a member of the parliament together with Secretary Cecil, did protest that no man did speak with more reverence and respect to the House or more for the liberty of the subject than the Secretary did.

2ndly. It was his only project to pull down the Court of Wards, to turn the King's provisions, carriage, and all other pressures of the subject into a pecuniary sum ; and, as I take it, the disforesting and suppressing of forests and chases.

3rdly. Myself have made search at the Tower, at the Rolls, and in the Clerk of the Parliament's Office ; I have perused every year, every day, and find nothing to be wanting ; and therefore, there could not be a cart-load burnt.

4thly. The prerogative was not enhanced in King James's time, but rather diminished ; yet I cannot say but in times of peace there are always the greatest abuses in law, and therefore I do much blame Tipper* for his concealed titles, and

* He was one of an infamous clique whose object was to raise money by procuring new books of concealment for church lands, which so became forfeited to the crown, and were snapt up by the greedy courtiers of Queen Elizabeth. See Strype's Whitgift, ii. 197.

the informers for taking all manner of advantages and putting the penal laws in execution; but these were all adjudged by law, and I know the lawyers will say that none of their records have been burnt, but that the law is perfect.

I did once write to Mr. Camden Clarencieux the herald, that in regard he had written the life of Queen Elizabeth, he could not but have many records which he had not mentioned, and I did desire him to make me his heir of these records. I was the rather encouraged to make this request, because I was his scholar, and my father* had recommended him to be school-master in Westminster, and had put him upon the studies of antiquity, and had bought him books and gave him books only for that purpose; and it was my uncle who bare his charge when he travelled through to write his Britannia, as he himself mentioneth in that book. Mr. Camden returned me his answer, that I should have had them with all his heart, but that Archbishop Bancroft had prevented me; and he dying, left all to his successor Archbishop Abbot, who did promise Mr. Camden to make use of them in print; but he never did, and, as another archbishop† told me, they were all kept and preserved in an upper chamber over the gate as you enter into Lambeth House.

* Godf. Goodman, he was Dean of Westminster.

† Probably Laud.

So there were some records, especially concerning the church; and if there had been any such records burnt, certainly I should have found some memorial of them in Sir Robert Cotton's library, where I was a diligent student some twenty-six years since.

CHAPTER II.

Character of the Earl of Salisbury. — Difference between the Queen and him. — His rise and fall. — Cause of the latter, — Communication from a dying Peer. — Manœuvres of the Earl of Salisbury. — Warrant to apprehend him. — His visit to the Bath. — His disease and death. — Restoration to Holland of Flushing and Brill. — Lord Henry Howard. — Earl of Carlisle. — Earl of Northampton and Sir Robert Mansell. — Neglect of the Navy. — Mansell's choleric character.

THAT Sir Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, should be the projector for the baronets, he that shall consider his disposition, and how many things he did out of an intention to do good to the commons, which though they took not effect, yet were they very chargeable unto him, will conceive him to be of that nobleness of mind that he would not be so base as to stoop so low to make a little profit by sale of honours. The first year that he was lord treasurer he refused all New Year's gifts, which did amount to above £1800, as supposing them to be some kind of bribes whereby he might wink at the corruption of officers.

And seeing this author, immediately after Sir Robert Cecil's rising, sets down his fall, I must

likewise observe the same method in giving satisfaction, though many things did intervene, and all things should be spoken in order of time. But this author observing no such course, you must give me leave to wander after him, and to trace his footsteps in my pursuit.

I was in the Earl of Salisbury's house when one shewed me a suit of hangings, of green velvet, embroidered very rich and pleasant, which my lord intended to bestow upon the Queen* for a New Year's gift: and so they were given; but a little after there fell out a difference between the Queen and my lord, and I do think it was upon this occasion. The Queen had many suits from the King upon pretence of her charge in building Denmark-house; and I think my lord did oppose some suit she had, and it is not unlike but it was by the King's directions, for the King had not the power to deny a suit, nor would he willingly give any man cause of discontent, but left that to others; and sometimes, privately, he would tell the parties, if he did not like the business, that they had very heavy enemies at court. So then my Lord of Salisbury was the means to hinder her suit. The Queen took it so unkindly that she told the earl, the King had a hundred servants that were able to do him as good service as he could; the earl replied, that then they must first serve out their apprenticeship. This differ-

* Anne, Queen of James I.

ence did him no hurt, but he wore it out, and heard no more of it.

Now before I speak of his fall it is necessary that I should speak of the means of his rising: he was a very wise man, and he had very great experience, and knew how to conform himself and to observe the times. His father having had a long time of continuance, did both instruct him and procured him the notice of Secretary Walsingham, Smith, Petre, and some others. Now, to him that is so well furnished both with natural parts and the observations of others, being Secretary, and in regard of that office having continual access to the King, and keeping the signet, he did usually tender to the King what should pass, and being so bountiful that I have known some cases where he himself hath procured the suit, yet hath had no part of the profit, but hath wished the party to give £500 to John Murray, or some other of the bedchamber whom the King did specially favour, these men did ever promote his suit. Then he knew the king's disposition to an inch: but I conceive yet some further cause of his greatness. His father, the Treasurer Burleigh, and himself, had done very many great good offices to the French king Henry the Fourth, by persuading the Queen to furnish him with monies, with soldiers, with ships; and the more to insinuate himself, Sir Robert Cecil went ambassador to the French king,

and no doubt but there were some secret passages between them. So the French king did affect him more than any other Englishman, and certainly there was no man's favour that King James did more desire than the French king's; for before he came into England he had the French king's promise to further his title; and if King James should die, he did desire the French king to take the protection of his son, as he would have a care and assist his son in case he should survive him. So there having been such mutual promises between them, as there hath ever been a great league between France and Scotland, no marvel if King James did so much respect him for his sake, and in relation to him would not willingly discontent the Earl of Salisbury.* Hereunto you must add his alliance with the Howards; and surely he was very great with the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, with the Earl of Nottingham, and the rest of the nobles.

Now for his fall, such as it was, I never heard that the Duke of Bouillon did him any ill office, nor is it like he should, coming upon so great a suit, a match to be tendered to the King's only daughter. But first consider the disposition of King James, who, though he was never cruel, nor desired nor intended the overthrow of any man, yet to extend more or less favours, according to

* See some account of a secret treaty between James and the French court, in Birch's Historical View, p. 18.

the fancy of love therein, I confess he did a little alter. Thus, he first began with Philip Earl of Montgomery, who made so little use of the King's favours that I have heard him seriously protest that he never had one farthing for any suit at court; and though he continued not a favourite, yet the King did still love him, for upon his death-bed he would take nothing from any man's hand but from Montgomery's. My Lord Hay, after Earl of Carlisle, as he was never the sole favourite, so being a comely, handsome gentleman, he did comply with all favourites, and he had this happiness, that the greatest part of his revenue came out of foreign islands, the Bermoodas and Summer's islands, which as it was a great revenue, so he had it without the grudging or envy of others; and this did serve for his wasteful expense, as in the whole course of his life, so at his very burial. For Somerset, the King spared his life; though I do not think there was such a correspondence, as the author reports, between them.

Now, seeing that the King was mutable in so many favourites, no marvel if he were a little more remiss in his favours to Salisbury, especially the French king being now dead who did formerly support him.

The true cause of his fall was this:—A great peer of the kingdom lying upon his death-bed sent the King word he was desirous to speak with him. The King, as his manner was, desiring that

no notice might be taken of his coming, sent the Earl of Dunbar to visit the sick man, excusing himself for not coming, and desiring him to impart to the earl what he would speak unto him, and he would take it very kindly. Here the sick man did express great affection and duty to the King, and desired him not to lose any part of his prerogative, especially the Court of Wards and other great royalties which his predecessors had, for if he should part with these he should hardly be able to govern; that the subject was more obedient and did observe the King more for these than for any laws or other respects whatsoever; that the subject was bound to relieve him and to supply his occasions without any such contractings, and therefore he did desire him, for the necessary support of his own government, not to put his lands unto fee-farms; and whereas at this time some did endeavour to engross and monopolise the King, and kept other able men out of his service, that the King, as God had blessed him with wisdom and judgment, would take such able men into his service as might from time to time be faithful to him and to his successors. When the Earl of Dunbar had delivered this message to the King, the King wished that, if it might stand with God's will that he were £10,000 in debt to save his life; and ever after the Earl of Salisbury, who had been a great stirrer in that business, and was the man aimed at, began to decline. Now what course did

the earl take? surely this. The King's attorney is ever the rod and instrument to give the lash to those whom the King will cast down; Sir Robert Cecil did ever desire to be great with the King's attorney. Sir Edward Coke, who was attorney, did marry a Cecil, the Earl of Exeter's daughter, upon his preferment to be chief justice of the Common Pleas. The Earl of Salisbury being Master of the Wards, he had an inward familiarity with Sir Harry Hobart, who was then attorney of the Court of Wards, and finding him to be a very wise and an honest man, and his true friend, he was the means to prefer him to be the King's attorney-general. And now upon this occasion he sent for him, and knowing that nothing would be alleged against him in point of the King's prerogative, (which notwithstanding was the inward sore and the greatest exception,—for though he might fail in judgment therein, yet he was not punishable by law,) he acquainted the attorney thus far, that he was like a man tossed with the waves of the sea, who would fain come to shore but could not in regard of the dangers; so he himself having had great offices and overloaded with business, he would fain lay down his burden if he could with his own honour and safety. “And now, Mr. Attorney, let me crave your counsel. If a man be a Secretary to a prince, many things he must do upon the word of the prince: there are no witnesses to testify, nor doth the King set his

hand and seal to all things ; how far then shall that officer offend who hath no other commission but the King's word and command ?" To whom the attorney replied, that much must be ascribed to the honour and conscience of the prince ; and if he should disclaim his own actions, that then the circumstances on both sides were to be examined, and if it should prove that the King's accusation should be without probabilities, surely he should utterly disenable himself ; for that the rest of his servants would decline his employment, and then in effect he should only speak by his seal, and as much trouble should be in every slight trivial business as in the greatest actions of state, for no man would do any thing without sufficient warrant under hand and seal. Then the earl requested him, that if ever there should be any proceedings against him, that the attorney would do him what good, honest office he could ; which the attorney promised to do.

Neither did the Earl of Salisbury here rest, but he had the promise of many privy councillors, and, as I take it, under their hands, that if the earl were committed or should fall into troubles, that then they would all become suitors, and use their uttermost endeavours that he might come to a speedy trial, and know his accusers, and what should be objected against him ; for he in his great experience had ever found that for a man to be long in prison, it is not only to deject his mind

and a hindrance of his health, but it is to set him up as a mark, that every one might shoot at him and be encouraged to bring in their complaints and accusations against him, and then things would light more heavily upon him.*

It is certain the King did not love him, for he called to mind a practice of his, that knowing the King to be fearful, he did often possess him with jealousies and dangers, and then he in his wisdom would prevent them, and so ingratiate himself with the King; and yet in his very declining he knew the way so well for the passing off business and suits, and was so punctual and real in his rewards, that no suit went against him, as may appear by the preferment of his chaplain, Doctor Lancton,† to be president of Magdalen College in Oxford, notwithstanding the great opposition.

It is not unlike but King James might know how the body of the council stood affected to the earl, and how far they had engaged themselves; which might make the King more remiss in his

* Cecil was not without an instance of this mode of proceeding; in one case where it nearly affected himself. The very course which he so justly apprehended, was the same which Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the active opponent of the Lord Burleigh, his father, advised the partisans of Leicester to adopt, when they had formed a design of supplanting him in the affections of the Queen. "First, clap him up in prison," said Throckmorton; "and if he be once shut up, men will open their mouths and speak freely against him." See, the memoir of Sir N. Throckmorton, in *Criminal Trials*, i. 59.

† William Langton, D.D.

proceedings against him. Yet I have heard that there was a warrant out to apprehend him, and to commit him to prison; but it was very closely carried, and not to be executed but upon a fit opportunity. And now did the Earl grow very sick and did desire to go to the Bath; some thought it was to procure his *quietus est* before his going, so to ease his son of much trouble and charge, for in my knowledge he did utterly dislike the great trouble, charge, and expense which men had in making up their accounts in the exchequer. Mr. Cassie, an ancient gentleman, told me that being left in arrears for being a surety for some of the King's receivers, and thereupon having occasion to speak with the Earl of Salisbury, his lordship told him that he did much wonder and blame any ancient gentleman for meddling with the King's accompts, and that if they knew the trouble and charge, they would not entangle their estates; the high sheriff passing his accompts might be a warning unto them.

Others did conceive that the earl's journey to the Bath was only to absent himself for a time, whereby the King's anger might be a little appeased, and the thought of his imprisonment might be laid aside. Certain it is, that the Bath could do him no good in his disease, which I conceive was this:—Being crooked in body, the veins have not that current passage, and therefore such bodies are usually neither healthful nor long-lived:

hereunto I may add that he was much given to eating of fruits, especially grapes—and that very immoderately ; if some shall further add the fruits of wantonness I take no notice thereof, but this I have observed in such like bodies, that they are very apt to have issues which do much weaken nature, and then they have not that good concretion and digestion which other men have, and crudity is the mother of many diseases :* and it pleased God that his time was now come. And as other sick men do desire to be sometime in the bed and sometime in the chair, and so to ease themselves with change and variety, so if this lord should sometimes in the coach, sometimes in the horse litter, and sometimes to rest himself in the open air, and sit upon a mole-hill and there die, this should rather move compassion and shew every man his own condition than be interpreted for a heavy judgment of God.† This

* What is here stated of Cecil, is confirmed by the extracts from the Journal of Dr. Theod. Mayerne, published in Ellis's Letters, Second Series, iii. 246. The doctor there describes him as delighting in raw fruits and suffering from indigestion—"Fructus edit quamplurimos præter poma : edit cerasa præcocia ; uvas quæ semper nocent. Ventriculus non bene coquit : appetitus digestionem melior." The concluding remarks of this physician furnish a sufficient refutation of the disgusting charge brought against Cecil by several biographers, which rests upon no other authority than the malicious slanders of anonymous or prejudiced writers.

† "I shall only," says Naunton, "vindicate the scandal of his death. He departed at St. Margaret's near Marlborough, in

I write, God knows, out of my love of truth; for I never had from him, nor do I expect from any of his, to the value of one farthing: and notwithstanding that the author has thus disgraced him, yet still he prefers him before all his successors. How he should style him full of honour as he doth, and yet make him the projector in all these new-invented and bought honours of the baronets, I cannot easily conceive.*

his return from the Bath, as my Lord Viscount Cranbourne, my Lord Clifford, his son, and son-in-law, myself, and many more can witness; but that the day before he swooned in the way, was taken out of the litter, and laid into his coach, was a truth out of which that falsehood concerning the manner of his death had its derivation, though nothing to the purpose or to the prejudice of his worth."

* Cecil evidently died from some scorbutic affliction. A very interesting yet melancholy account of his death, from the Diary of Dr. John Bowles, his chaplain, has been printed in Peck's *Desid. Curiosa*, vi. § 4.

The account is too long to be comprised within the compass of a note; the reader is therefore presented with so much of it as relates to the earl's departure from Bath, and his death.

"Upon Thursday the 21st of May, we went from Bath to Lacock, to my Lady Stapleton's house, where my lord was very ill both Thursday and Friday.

"May 22.—My lord was in great fits, especially on Friday, and asked many impertinent questions, the strength of his disease prevailing upon him. But yet two things are remarkable. First, all the impertinent things my lord spoke of, were as a man in a dream, without any passion, impatience, or fear. Secondly, they were of such things as took most impression in his mind. For most of that talk was of his physic, or repeating of sentences and prayers out of the Book of Common Prayer,

The worst action (as I conceive) that ever he did, was when the Hollanders were to renew their league with the King, and mention was made of the cautionary towns, Flushing and Brill. It was so contrived in Queen Elizabeth's time, that upon the loan of a great sum of money, the money should yearly increase, so that the Hollander should never be able to pay the money. But in the new agreement with King James, it was so contrived that the money should yearly decrease, which was the motive that the King afterwards parted with those cautionary towns; and in contriving thereof, Secretary Winwood had a spe-

especially this one sentence, 'And take not thy Spirit from us.' Which he did because in divers conferences and prayers before, I had told him, 'that God would not take away his Holy Spirit, though he should take away the spirit of life.'

"One thing more there fell out when my Lord Hay was by. I told my lord, that God had given to us a power as his instruments and ministers to preach remission of sins unto him. And therefore according to the profession of that faith and repentance (which I saw in my lord) I told him that God did certify him by me, that he was in the state of salvation. 'Then,' quoth my lord, 'you have a power?' I answered, 'Ay.' He said, 'From whence?' I said, 'From the Church, by imposition of hands.' He asked from whence the Church had it? I said, 'From Christ.' 'Oh!' said he, 'that is my comfort; then I am happy.' This was spoken in broken and disjointed sentences, according to the weakness of his body.

"May 23. — On Saturday we went to Marlbury, where my lord was very ill and ready to faint.

"May 24.—On Sunday the lords commanded me to preach at the church. After sermon we came into his chamber, where

cial hand, who, it is said, was made secretary by the Hollanders' means, they buying the office for him. And if Winwood had lived, it would have fallen heavily upon him; for ever since the restoring of those cautionary towns the Hollander hath much neglected us and forgotten who were his protectors and supporters. And indeed the King had as good a right to keep them as they had to keep the Hague, or any other town now in their possession.* The title of both is alike; for, for that, there is had little regard; only matter of state, political ends, and their own greatness are looked upon.

Then the author falls upon Henry Howard,† we found him very weak, and no posture could give him ease. We went to prayer. And though my lord's weakness was very much, yet with a devout gesture, standing upon his crutches, he with affection repeated the material parts and passages of the prayer. And all the rest of the time till we went to dinner, all his speech was nothing but, 'Oh Jesus! Oh sweet Jesus!' and such short ejaculations as the weakness of his body did give him leave.

"After dinner Dr. Poe did rise, and I came unto him. My lord's head lay upon two pillows upon Master Townsend's lap. Ralph Jackson was mending the swing which supported him. 'So,' saith he; 'lift me up but this once.' Then he called to Dr. Poe for his hand; which having, he griped somewhat hard, and his eyes began to settle, when he cried, 'O Lord!' and so sunk down without groan or sigh or struggling. At the same instant I joined in prayer with him, 'that God would receive his soul and spirit;' which short words being solemnly spoken by me, he was clean gone, and no breath nor motion in him."

* See the conclusion of this volume.

† Meaning the Earl of Northampton.

as he sayeth, youngest son to the Duke of Norfolk ; wherein he is much mistaken. For he was the youngest son of the Earl of Surrey and brother to the Duke of Norfolk, and in that regard in courtesy was called Lord Henry Howard ; his father indeed should have been Duke of Norfolk if he had lived, and the Lord Thomas Howard Earl of Suffolk.* And here he doth them both great wrong, for neither was Northampton a *flatterer*† nor an unwise man ; and so likewise Suffolk ; only being descended from the Dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham, their ancestors having done so much good service to the crown, having often matched with the crown, they stood much upon the honour of their family.‡ And whom should

* It is not clear what Goodman means. Thomas Howard was nephew to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, and was *created* Earl of Suffolk in the year 1603.

† They who are acquainted with the letters of Howard will probably question the assertions. Still, far-fetched compliments and obscure conceits, with which his letters are stuffed, may rather be attributed to a wretched taste and a love of pedantry, and the remark of Goodman still be just, as far as relates to Northampton's character.

‡ Goodman is not singular in this opinion. The celebrated Earl of Essex, writing to Lord Keeper Egerton, gives Northampton the following character:—"I do assure your lordship, your favour is very worthily bestowed : for as my inward friendship with my Lord Howard doth make me know his many virtues and worthy parts to honour affection in others, so my little experience of the world hath not known in any a more sweet nature, a faster friendship, or a truer thankfulness, than I have observed in this my honourable cousin."—Birch's Bacon Papers, ii. 339.

Northampton most affect but the heir of the house, the Earl of Arundel, whose parents were most godly and virtuous, and of the same religion with Northampton? He did likewise truly affect Suffolk, though I think he did not well approve of his courses; for in Queen Elizabeth's time, Suffolk went to sea and took prizes from the Spaniard, and was then hardly spoken of by some, for not relieving the *Revenge*, but suffering that goodly ship to be lost.

When the author reckons the principal managers of affairs, he doth ill to put in Egerton and Buckhurst, the one lord keeper and the other lord treasurer.* Worcester, master of the horse, and the old Admiral,† these did only manage their great offices and looked no farther; great causes were referred to Northampton and Salisbury, and Suffolk‡ had his greatness from both of them, and had likewise extraordinary suits given him, which I will not reckon because I would not have the question demanded what became of all that wealth and how it was wasted.

That Salisbury should shake off his old acquaintance it is true; it is true that he was to seek new acquaintance of the Scots, and that his old

* Edward Somerset.

† Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham. He commanded the fleet in the celebrated action of 88.

‡ Lord Thomas Howard, son of Thomas the second Duke of Norfolk, was lord chamberlain to King James, who created him Earl of Suffolk in the first year of his reign.

acquaintance did in effect leave the court, and men are to associate themselves to them with whom they have greatest cause to converse, and of whom they have the greatest use: and Salisbury, as I have heard, at the arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, did express a great love unto him and did acknowledge his former acquaintance, and desired that he might be fully heard and have a fair trial. For, Sir George Carew,* who was son to the Dean of Windsor, a kinsman to Queen Elizabeth, and after Earl of Totness, as I take it, he was master of the ordinance, and vice-chamberlain to Queen Anne, and in very great favour with her, and having no son, did content himself with those preferments.

For the rising of the Earl of Carlisle, surely he was a very comely and a good-natured gentleman, very bountiful, as may appear by the many feasts which he made, and the excessive charge of his apparel. And if Northampton did so much hate him, certainly it was that he did love the greatness of the ancient nobility; and for these new men who did suddenly rise and were of that infinite expense, he did not desire to give them encouragement or any countenance in those courses. And for his hate to Sir Robert Mansell, I suppose it was upon this occasion. The Earl of Northamp-

* By a letter of Sir D. Corleton to Sir Thomas Parry, it appears that Carew did not at first meet with the favour he expected.—See Ellis, iii. 82.

ton was a very honest man, and it did grieve him much to see two abuses: the one was, that the king's navy should be so utterly neglected, wanting all kinds of reparations, whereas the old saying was, that England was ditched about with the sea, and had wooden walls; that is, that the navy was the strength of the kingdom. The earl, as I have heard, did cause some preachers to intimate so much in their sermons; but that not prevailing, he did resolve openly and manifestly to appear in the business himself, as the earl's secretary and executor, Jo. Griffith, told me that he would not take £200 to write so much as the earl had written with his own hand on that business, besides examinations, inquisitions, and all other pains and charge. At length he found that the king's allowance was very sufficient; but the fault was in the officers, who being under the admiral, a very mild man, did abuse the king.* And let me say this much in the earl's behalf: no churchman in England did better know the king's navy than myself. Walking one day in Chatham, where the king's navy is, one said to me, "I will tell you a wonder. All these goodly houses that you see, (there were some fourteen or sixteen of them, and houses fit

* This is perfectly just. The extravagance, the utter neglect in all things concerning the navy during the early part of this reign, are forcibly pointed out by Lionel Cranfield, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Middlesex, in his letters to the Duke of Buckingham, printed in the second volume.

for knights to dwell in,) they are all made of chips." His meaning was, that the officers of the navy having nothing but chips for their fees, yet they took the best timber which came for the repairing the navy for the building of their houses. These houses did belong to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, whereof I was then patron ; so that a great abuse there was in the navy all men confess ; insomuch, that by the advice of the council, order was taken that the navy should be instantly repaired, and that the officers should be no further employed, but that there should be commissioners to order the navy, and they having so much allowed them, they should undertake yearly to build two great ships of so many tons, and repair the rest ; and so much was to be allowed them, which came far short of that charge which the king was formerly at. And this the commissioners did perform very honestly, justly, and faithfully, insomuch that the king within a very short time had a stronger and a more magnificent navy than any one of his predecessors had. The principal commissioners were these, that I may name them for their honour:—Sir John Cooke, the king's secretary who had formerly been employed by Sir Foulks Greville in matters of the navy, and had all the precedents and notes of former times ; and as he received orders from the king's council, so he sent directions to Mr. Burwell, who was the best shipwright of England, and he was formerly employed

in making the great ships for the East India merchants, and now came into the royal navy. He was mistaken in one or two of the first ships which were made, because he did not observe the difference between the merchant ships and the king's ships, the one made for stowage and for the use of merchants in the laying up of their commodities, the other only for strength and magnificence. This error he himself did quickly observe and afterwards amend. Mr. Burwell having directions from the secretary, presently he sent to Captain Norris to put all things in execution. This captain was my familiar friend, and before this employment was put upon him, for which he had £200 pension without fees, he was thought to be as able and as wise a man as any was in Kent. For many years together he was foreman of the grand jury, and both judges and justices did much rely upon his information, so he was a very powerful man in the county. I was once at the dock when the Prince was brought in, which must be at a full tide; and truly Captain Norris had so ordered the business that some two or three hundred men were instantly set on work, and every man knew his own place, so that there was no loss of work, no loss of time; which must needs proceed from a great wisdom and a good contriving head-piece. And now that I have mentioned the Prince, which was then the greatest ship the king had, I remember that Sir Thomas Smyth, the great East

India merchant, who had been formerly in trouble for the Earl of Essex, he did once wait upon the king being feasted in that ship, and did then tell his majesty that he would build him another ship every way equal unto it for half the money that that ship cost. And when some that were about the king did persuade him to accept of the offer, the king's answer was, that he had no money, nor had he use for any more such ships.

But to return to Sir Robert Mansell. Truly he was a very honest man and open-hearted man, a valiant man, and one that was fit for any sea employment ; but a man so void of all compliments, and a little rash. Let him speak with any grave old counsellor, especially in a difference concerning himself, I dare undertake that he should give him some affront and some offence ; and so he might provoke Northampton ; but that the earl should break into such words as the author would fasten upon him I shall never believe, for they do not savour of Christianity. I remember, when Sir Robert Mansell had a complaint in parliament concerning his glass-house, he began to speak in some choler ; whereupon some of the lords, knowing his disposition, wished him to hold his peace, fearing lest he should give offence and so be committed ; but others cried, " Let him speak, let him speak ; he speaks like an open-hearted Welshman and like a soldier," and we know that all men are not without passions, and if we should forbid them to soldiers we

should abate their courage. In this whole relation certainly the author does very much mistake ; for whereas he sayeth that Salisbury did offer to lay down his staff, certainly at that time he had no staff to lay down, for Treasurer Buckhurst was then living, and both Dorset and Salisbury and other officers took it to heart in the behalf of the old admiral. Dorset did wish that once he might see Northampton to have an office that others might pry into his accompts ; neither was it Sir Robert Mansell that gave him the blow, but it was mild, wise, temperate Sir John Trevor, who had the managing of it, and did prevail in that business. Withall you must consider what a hard difficult thing it is to examine another man's accompts, and to find out the deceit. It appears by those long tedious suits which have been in chancery between merchants and tradesmen that have been partners. And so much concerning Sir Robert.

CHAPTER III.

Peace with Spain.—Interview between a Polish Ambassador and Queen Elizabeth.—King James's desire for peace.—Punctilios of Honour.—Sir Walter Raleigh's treason.—Lord Gréy's treason.—His cruelty.—Sentence of Death on Sir Walter Raleigh.—Cobham's miserable Life and Death.—Accusers of Raleigh.

THE author shews himself continually a great enemy to the peace of Spain, but he never shews what wrongs we have sustained and what just cause of war we had, or if we were provoked; yet there must be some end of hostility; *Actio moritur cum persona*. It hath ever been the custom [upon] the change of princes to renew leagues and to treat of peace; and whereas he concludes that the Spaniard sent to us, and therefore it was advantageous to him and not to us, he might remember that immediately after our admiral was to attend at Graveling for the ambassador, and therefore he might have concluded against us. The truth is, that the Christian world was weary of these wars; for merchants are merchants, and they will so contrive it, that if any goods be taken they shall always belong to such as are in league with us. Towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeth all the

Christian kings did interpose for a peace, and were resolved to have a peace; which was no small cause of the queen's melancholy. First, the King of Denmark sent an ambassador hither to move for a peace; but the queen returned this answer, that he was too young to compose a difference. Then the King of Poland* sent hither an ambassador

* This was the ambassador concerning whose reception and treatment in this country a curious letter, written by Cecil to Essex, will be found in Ellis's Illustrations, &c. vol. iii. p. 41. "There arrived three days since in the city," says Cecil, "an ambassador out of Poland, a gentleman of excellent fashion, wit, discourse, language, and person. The queen was possessed by some of our new councillors, that are as cunning in intelligence as in decyphering, that his negociation tendeth to a proposition of peace. He was brought in attired in a long robe of black velvet, well jewelled and buttoned, and came to kiss her majesty's hands where she stood under the state, from whence he straight retired, ten yards off, and then began his oration aloud in Latin, with such a gallant countenance as in my life I never beheld. To this I swear by the living God, that her majesty made one of the best answers, extempore, in Latin, that ever I heard, being much moved to be so challenged in public, especially so much against her expectation [the ambassador having accused her of fomenting quarrels]. The words of her beginning were these:—Expectavi legationem mihi verò querelam adduzisti; is this the business your king hath sent you about? Surely I can hardly believe that if the king himself were present, he would have used such a language; for if he should, I must have thought that his being a king not of many years, and that *non de jure sanguinis* sed *de jure electionis*, imò noviter electus, he may haply have been uninformed of that course which his father and ancestors have taken with us, and which peradventure shall be observed by those that shall live to come after him." According to Cecil, she further did justice to old Ascham's tuition. "God's death, my lords!" exclaimed the

to complain of the wrongs, and to treat of a peace: the queen did use this ambassador very scornfully, and called him an herald, and told him that his master was but an elective king. Then the French king sent and would take no denial, but that there should be a treaty for peace. Ambassadors were sent,* (I spake with one of them;) they met on both sides, but they could not agree upon place and precedence, and so they parted; but certainly the French king was resolved to have some other treaty, and while these things were in doing the queen died of melancholy.

Infinite are the inconveniences which the neighbours do sustain by the wars of two princes; and though Queen Elizabeth had the better, yet the greatest loss which ever the Spaniard had, which was in 88, wherein for shipping, for ammunition, and other great losses, the Spaniard could not recover himself, truly in the year following, 1589, in the Portugal voyage, we lost as many men (and every Christian prince should respect

queen at the conclusion of her audience, "I have been enforced this day to scour up my old Latin that hath been long in rusting." This happened in the summer of 1597, when she was consequently in her sixty-fourth year.

* Lord Burghley thought this embassy of the French king was only a pretext to wheedle the queen out of more men and money. See his letter to his son, Sir Robert Cecil, dated 8th July 1597, in Peck's *Desid.* i. § 18. Of Queen Elizabeth's feelings on the subject of peace, see V. Raumer's *History of XVI. Cent. &c.* i. 393.

that loss above all others) as the Spaniard had lost the year before. It is true that for the great caracks which brought the spices from India we did often light upon them, but for the plate fleet, though we did often lie in wait for them, yet we gained little; and the last voyage of Sir Francis Drake and Hawkins was a most unfortunate voyage.

Now suppose King James had intended to continue the wars, how should he then have been able to have given the Scots as much as he did? and considering their necessity, they were not able to subsist without the king's bounty. Consider then the old enmity betwixt the English and Scots, and how fit it was that they should first be incorporated in a time of peace, and that if any unfortunate disaster should befall the king it might much endanger his state; naturally the king did love peace, as having seen such miserable effects and distractions in Scotland in the time of the wars, and seeing he had no just cause of war, therefore he could not in honour and religion but yield to a peace. It is true that the Earl of Cumberland did oppose it, considering what prizes he took, and how he played his part in the West Indies; and truly the goods gotten by wars did not thrive. The lord admiral's office in those times was worth forty thousand pounds a year, and yet no nobleman poorer than the lord admiral. Captain Jones, who took many prizes, and

sometimes had eight or nine men in livery after him, and lived at an excessive rate, yet died in a beggarly condition. I did once hear a rich Londoner boast and brag what great pennyworths he and others bought of the sea captains; truly those goods did not prosper; yet I confess that the Spaniard was free of his coin, and spared no rewards for purchasing the peace. One told me that he himself had paid £3000 to one man only for furthering the peace.

For the taking in of the flag in honour of the king's royal ships, it is a compliment which I confess hath been the cause of much mischief. I do not hear that other princes upon their own shores do expect such an homage to be done to their ships. I do not remember that ever I read that when Normandy was annexed to the crown of England and afterwards Calais, and then no doubt but the kings might claim a greater dominion in the seas when they had lands on both sides, and might therefore claim a greater propriety in the seas, and yet I do not remember that the omission of such a courtesy did ever beget a quarrel. Certainly all courtship and punctilios of honour are the fruits of this later age; and no doubt but the King of Denmark's Sound had such an original, that it first began with a courtesy, after became a necessary duty, and now it serves for a great imposition.

And now for the treason, and, as the author

says, the mark of tyranny in King James, for taking away Sir Walter Raleigh's life, wherein Bristol is accused for having a hand in that business, to preserve his right to Sherbourne Castle; and here he takes upon him to expound God's judgments, &c. wherein I do assure myself that he doth most unjustly accuse Bristol. But the treason, as I conceive it, was this: George Brook, a man of great understanding, brother to the Lord Cobham, and whose sister was married to Secretary Cecil, this man was discontented because having but small means, he was promised by Queen Elizabeth the mastership of St. Crosses, which notwithstanding was not finished in regard of the queen's death. The king finding the place empty he bestowed it upon Mr. James Hudson, his agent here in England; and Mr. Hudson hearing that it did belong to a churchman, took some small consideration and passed it over to Dr. Lake, brother to Sir Thomas Lake; and this was one cause of the discontentment of Mr. George Brook: another might be, that his brother, my Lord Cobham, was put out of the Cinque Ports, and the Earl of Northampton made lord warden; but the chiefest, that he had but a mean estate, and his wife a very gallant gentlewoman, and one that was kept at great expense. This man, I conceive, was the whole plotter of the treason; and first, because he would be resolved what relation there was be-

tween the king and his people before the coronation, they took the advice of some priests, Watson and Clarke, and they did resolve that it was as necessary that the king should tie himself to his people, as his people to their king; and certainly this resolution of the priests was all their treason. Watson at the time of his execution did confess that they who had set him on work to write his Quodlibets against the jesuits, they had now brought him within the snare of high treason, and then did he ask forgiveness of the jesuits. Clarke being required to signify to the people that he was not executed for his religion, he refused so to do, because he conceived that his resolution in that question did belong to his religion, or that he was the rather executed in regard of his religion. So much for their treason. Brook himself at his arraignment, did confess that the common law was not a fit judge of his treason, for that his treason did belong rather to matter of state; that what he did was for trial of men's allegiance, and to see how they stood affected to the state, as he might allege many such in the time of Queen Elizabeth; but in regard that he had no directions, nor was appointed by the state to make any such trial, therefore he was found guilty. The parson of Cobham in Kent, who, as I take it, was presented by my Lord Cobham, went to visit his patron in the Tower, who among other things told him, that he was very

sorry that his lordship had associated himself with Sir Walter Raleigh, a man of very great but of a dangerous wit: to whom my Lord Cobham replied, that Sir Walter Raleigh had done him no hurt, but he had done Sir Walter Raleigh a great deal of hurt. So then it should seem that he had acquainted Sir Walter Raleigh with some dangerous plot, and that Sir Walter had a full intent to discover it, but the thing was as yet but in embryo and not come to any perfection; so that if Sir Walter Raleigh had then discovered it, he should have made but a very imperfect report, which such a wise man would not do; therefore concealing it for a time, this was found treason.

Now because in the proof of treason there must be two witnesses, it was proved that Sir Walter Raleigh did convey a note to my Lord Cobham in a very secret and strange way; insomuch that a privy councillor and a lord ambassador who was present at this arraignment did tell me, that if he had been one of the jury he would have found him guilty only for the sending of that one note, for he did not think that such a wise man as Raleigh would have sent, at such a time, and upon such an occasion, a note to Cobham, if there had not been something amiss. It is true that Raleigh did desire to see Cobham face to face, and some lords thought it but a reasonable motion—as the old admiral, and, as I take it, Cecil; but the lawyers were against it; and in regard that in Cobham's

accusation of Raleigh therein he did together condemn himself, therefore his testimony was thought to be the more valid. And whereas the author sayeth, that a discontentment did arise out of their envy to Salisbury, and that they had joined in the ruin of Essex, he that shall consider that Essex was up in arms and that he did most blame his own Secretary Cuffe, he must needs confess that they were no causes of his ruin. And certainly here he doth most unjustly tax Cecil.

For the Lord Grey, I can say little of his treason; but he was condemned by his peers, who certainly had good grounds for it, and knowing it may be their own case, no doubt but they would be tender in shedding blood. I do not desire to rip up men's cruelties, or to interpret God's judgments, but truly I never heard of such a bloody, barbarous action as the Lord Grey, his father, committed in Ireland upon the Spaniards.* For whereas they had submitted themselves to his mercy, he put some four or five hundred of them (in effect the whole number,) into a yard, weapon-

* In 1580; he being at that time lord deputy. In palliation of this cruelty as far as Gray is concerned, it should be mentioned, that he acted upon the advice of his council, and did not follow their suggestion without shedding tears; they conceiving so cruel a measure necessary for their own safety.—See Camden, p. 243. The same historian has however mentioned a circumstance much more to Gray's disgrace, if true, even than this: Ib. p. 257.

less; and then were soldiers sent in with clubs, bills and swords, and slew every man of them. A soldier who was then present and did see the execution done, told me that in his certain knowledge most of those soldiers who were employed therein came to a very unhappy end; the Lord Grey himself being questioned for it in the Star Chamber, for the queen could do no less for her own honour and the discharge of her conscience. And whereas the author here would seem to point out the treason, that is, for raising of arms, truly I think it came not so far, but it was only an embryo, a temptation to betray one another. And whereas the author accuseth those of treason who made the peace with Spain, I could wish that he had first set down some just cause of war; otherwise he shows himself but irreligious.

And whereas Wade* is accused for getting Cobham's hand to a blank, if this were true then surely Cobham was worse than a fool. But Wade was never held so dishonest, and Cobham relating it to his own minister did never accuse Wade. And that Salisbury, who was but a mere spectator at the arraignment, and had spoken some things in the behalf of Raleigh to desire favour

* Ward, Lieutenant of the Tower; a very active person against recusants, and in scenting treasons. He lost his office. His name will ever be held in honour by the learned, if what Lloyd says of him be true, that to his directions, we owe Ryder's Dictionary; to his encouragement, Hooker's Policy; to his charge, Grotius's Inscriptions.—State Worthies, i. 489.

for him, that he should be his accuser and entrap him, there is no colour of truth. And that Raleigh should long after be executed for that treason, surely there the king did but follow the advice and counsel of his lawyers: for if he had given him his pardon, yet his offence then committed had deserved death, for him without any commission from the king to seize upon the Spaniard's town where many lost their lives; there being at that time a peace between England and Spain. The king could do no less in honour and justice than either deliver him up to the Spaniard, or else, seeing blood requireth blood, and that so many had been slain in the action, and every one of them their lives as precious in the sight of God as was Sir Walter Raleigh's, surely it was necessary that his blood should pay for it. So to appease the wrath of God, and to preserve the peace and amity with Spain, the breach whereof might have cost much more blood than the life of one man could be estimated at, and the judges being consulted withall, they gave this resolution, that matter of treason was such that it could no way be satisfied or wiped off but by a pardon under the great seal, which Sir Walter Raleigh not having, he might be put to death for his former offence. And so to save further trouble for his trial, for that an offence committed in the West Indies, whether it were triable in the King's Bench, or rather in the Court of Admiralty, many

questions might be made, and to save all that trouble, he was called to the King's Bench, and there was demanded what he could say for himself, why the former sentence of death should not be put in execution: and he could allege no sufficient reason to the contrary. And so for the form of his trial there, the judges are to be charged with it, and not the king. No man doth honour the memory of Sir Walter Raleigh and his excellent parts more than myself; and in token thereof I know where his skull is kept to this day, and I have kissed it.

That Cobham should live and die so miserably as is related, and that his wife should be so unnatural as not to relieve him with the crumbs that fell from her table, and that the king should be cheated of all his estate, these things are not credible. For who had Cobham's house but the Duke of Richmond, the king's nearest kinsman? and therefore the king was not cheated. Who had much of his land in Kent, but the Earl of Salisbury, his brother-in-law? Who had his office but the Earl of Northampton? Now I know these lords to have been so noble and so generous of disposition, as that they would never have suffered him to have lived in that base manner. Besides, if his lady were so rich, he* might

* It appears from some expressions in a letter of Henry Howard's that Cobham did not live on good terms with his first wife. Cecil's Secret Correspondence, p. 68. In another passage, speak-

by law have claimed a share in her wealth. Again, for George Brooks, who suffered in that treason, and was brother to Cobham, I know that his son had a very fair estate left him; that he was a great reveller at court in the masques where the queen and greatest ladies were; that he had a good estate in the hundred of Hoo in Kent; that he had a park there; and I have seen him dance.

Now for the message which the king should send, to know whether Cobham had accused Raleigh, which Cobham denied, and only confessed that he had written his name to a white paper; and that Salisbury should misreport and indeed equivocate in returning his answer to his majesty, (though I know Salisbury to be so honestly just that he would never offend in that kind;) yet suppose he should, yet there were four other messengers which were sent with him; and I am sure

ing of Lady Kildare, he says, that she was possessed by a strange affection for Cobham, "whom never woman loved, or will love, beside herself." — *Ib.* p. 89. This lady, who was the widow of Henry Fitzgerald, and daughter of Charles Howard the lord admiral Cobham afterwards married. On her part it was entirely a love-match, and apparently made some noise in the court at that time. She felt so much concern for her husband's share in this plot, that she was obliged to resign her place of lady of the bedchamber to Queen Anne; (see Lodge's *Illust.* iii. 181;) so that it should appear that the lady experienced no diminution of her affection towards Cobham. It is therefore hardly possible that she would allow him to starve in a garret, in the way described by the libellers of this period.

they would not conceal it, or any way misinform the king. First, Lennox, who was never known to do any man wrong; then Worcester, a most honest, virtuous man, and a man of that courage, who in my knowledge did sometimes oppose a favourite: then Sir George Carew, whom the author informs us to have been opposite to Salisbury; and how easily might he have taken his advantage to have cast a great aspersion upon him! Then Sir Julius Cæsar, a man noted for his extraordinary charity. Therefore he might have forbore to have called them all murderers.

CHAPTER IV.

The Gunpowder Plot.—Its remote causes.—Mary Queen of Scots.—Her love for Lord Darnley.—Queen Elizabeth's dread of this connexion.—Mary's marriage with Darnley.—Murder of Darnley—Bothwell and the Queen.—Mary's Flight.—Her fall into the power of Elizabeth.—Elizabeth excommunicated by Pius V.—King James's suit to the Pope to favour his title to the Crown of England.—Spies.—Uncertain titles of the Kings of England.—Meeting of the Lords in the Star Chamber.—King James cautioned by Henry IV. of France.—Plans of the Papists.—Establishment of Catholic Seminaries by Cardinal Allen.—Endowment of Bishoprics in Ireland and Scotland by King James.—His passionate character.—Mr. James Hudson's Embassy to Queen Elizabeth.—Tyrone's Rebellion.—Elizabeth's Parsimony.—Her memory glorified.

I WILL here make a little digression only for similitude of argument; and from this treason I will come to the Gunpowder Plot, which is so manifest that it cannot be denied. Eudæmon Johannes, who writ in their behalf, and printed his book in Rome, doth confess it; only I shall relate some certain circumstances which have not yet been discovered, and I shall acquaint you with my own conjectures, which I confess are grounded upon probabilities and presumptions. And first I will begin (*a longè*). Upon the death of James the

Fifth of Scotland, that kingdom during the infancy of Queen Mary was governed by the Lady Mary of Lorraine, a very mild, virtuous, and religious lady : and such are very remiss in their governments. And now the lords of Scotland having great privileges did take much upon them, and did very much encroach upon the church, in the time of our King Edward the Sixth, whom Henry the Eighth would have had to have married the young Queen of Scotland, and for whom many of the Scottish nobility had engaged themselves to promote the marriage. Yet the queen regent, no doubt but by the advice of the great Duke of Guise her brother, did rather affect to match her with France ; and so for securing of her person she was conveyed into France, and her mother continued her regency. Not long after King Edward the Sixth dies, and then Queen Mary here in England succeeding, there was an alteration of religion, and a hot persecution against those ministers who would not conform to the Church of Rome ;—here they began to fly, some into Germany, some into Geneva, and some into Scotland ; and many of the Scottish lords by their preaching did much incline to the protestant religion. Queen Mary here in England lived not long ; then succeeded Queen Elizabeth, who the first thing she attempted was the change of religion, which she did with very great ease and facility ; first, because there were great wars at that

time between France and Spain, and the queen had privately made her peace with France ; then, that divers great princes were suitors unto her, as Philip the Second of Spain, her brother-in-law ; and he not prevailing, did recommend Charles, a younger son to Ferdinand the emperor, as the house of Austria hath ever been most fortunate in their matches ; and in hope and expectation thereof the emperor did many very great good offices unto the queen. So that neither within her kingdom, nor without her kingdom, did she find any opposition ; and the rather because she did inform foreign princes that she made no alteration in religion, but only changed the language from Latin into English for the better understanding of her people. Now it fell out very happily for the queen that the French king Henry the Second died ; and Francis the Second, who had married the Queen of Scots, succeeded ; who being very young, was much governed by the Duke of Guise, his wife's uncle, who had done very good service and was of the house of Lorraine. This the princes of the blood took ill, and to them did adhere those of the protestant religion ; and here began the civil wars of France, so that France was utterly disenabled to assist the Scottish government.

Now the Scots, seeing how easily the queen had changed her religion, desired her assistance in the like reformation. Hence the Scottish lords, de-

sirous to enrich themselves by the revenues of the church, having many zealous, or rather furious ministers, made a change of religion in despite of the queen regent, who, after many vexations and troubles, died of very grief. And not long after died her son-in-law, the French king, Francis the Second.

Queen Mary, the Scots' queen, now being a widow, had some offers of great marriages; but she, considering the miserable condition of her own inheritance, out of her duty to her father and her ancestors, thought fit, laying all things aside in her own person as she was a lady of very great courage, to go and settle her inheritance, and to reduce Scotland into some form of government, for now all things were out of order; and therein she had the greater hope to prevail, in regard of the great dower which she had out of France, and the power of her friends and kindred there. But coming into Scotland she found it as much as she could do to have the exercise of her own religion; and so she was content, being enforced to tolerate those ministers and others who gave her many affronts. And now, being in the prime of her age, she intended marriage, and sent to Queen Elizabeth to recommend a husband unto her; and Queen Elizabeth did recommend one whom she did not affect. Then did Matthew Earl of Lennox and Henry Lord Darnley procure leave from Queen Elizabeth to go into Scotland, there to claim

their inheritance, whereof part was detained from them. No sooner did Queen Mary see the Lord Darnley but she instantly fell in love with him; and the rather because, next after her own title, his title was next to the crown of England. He was a very comely handsome gentleman, but had no head-piece, and therefore was very apt to be abused.* But the queen having a dispensation from the Pope, in regard of nearness of blood, married him. This Queen Elizabeth took very ill, and committed his mother to prison; and by the means of Murray and Morton she set a great difference between them.† The queen did con-

* This is noticed by Cecil in a letter to Sir Thomas Smith, 1st Sept. 1565. He says, "The Queen of Scots hath much less number of hearts than subjects; but you know the inequality of the match, and therefore the event is uncertain. The young king is so insolent, as his father is weary of his government and is departed from the court."—Ellis's Illustrations, ii. 303, Second Series.

† Elizabeth repented of the leave which she had granted to Darnley of repairing to the Scottish court, especially when she heard that Mary intended to marry him; for Mary's right of succession appeared thus to be strengthened by this alliance, Elizabeth failed not therefore, in conjunction with Mary's half brother, the Earl of Murray, to raise a strenuous opposition to the match. How much she was concerned at it we learn by an anecdote of De Foys. The ambassador found her playing at chess, and said, profiting by the opportunity, "This game is an image of the words and deeds of men. If, for example, we lose a pawn, it seems but a small matter: nevertheless, the loss often draws after it that of the whole of the game." The queen replied, "I understand you: Darnley is but a pawn, but may well checkmate me if I do not take care." Saying these words, she left off playing.—V. Raumer's Hist. of XVI. Cent. &c. ii. 93.

sider that she was an absolute queen ; that she was the Dowager of France ; that for the Lord Darnley, he had not wherewithal to subsist but only by her allowance : she knew the weakness of his judgment, and who put those thoughts into him, that, being a husband, he should govern his wife* and take upon him the government of the kingdom. This bred very ill blood ; whilst some observing the great difference between them, the Lord Darnley was murdered, and by the nobility of the kingdom Earl Bothwell was acquitted of the murder and recommended to her for a husband ; who did marry her ; and a while after, the nobles rose up against them, put Bothwell to flight, and imprisoned the queen, and did enforce her to resign up her kingdom to her young son, about a year old, that under him they might have the

* Darnley's imperiousness is shown by his treatment of Rizzio, whom he suspected of using his influence with Mary to prevent her making greater concessions to him of power and authority.— See Von Raumer's Hist. of the XVI. Cent. &c. ii. 97. His headstrong, quick, and violent temper is still more minutely and justly described in a letter from Thomas Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, in which he gives an account of the Queen's marriage with Darnley.

“ They were married,” he says, “ with all the solemnities of the papish time, saving that he heard not the mass. His speech and talk argueth his mind, and yet would he fain seem to the world that he were of some religion. *His words to all men against whom he conceiveth any displeasure, how unjust soever it be, be so proud and spiteful, that rather he seemeth a monarch of the world, than he that not long since we have seen and known the Lord Darnley.* He lacketh now of many that have little will to give it

whole government. The queen being imprisoned, made some shift to escape; and then was she driven out of her kingdom, and flying by sea, she came into a harbour in England, and so became Queen Elizabeth's prisoner.

Now about this time Pius Quintus became pope, a man whom those of his church do wonderfully commend for his zeal, for his piety, for his courage: and certainly the victory at Lepanto, under God, may be much ascribed unto him. And some will not stick to say that he had a vision to assure him of good success. There Don John of Austria was admiral, who did utterly defeat all the Turkish navy; and if the Christian princes had then joined together, they might have kept the Turk from sending out one ship. This Pius, considering what advantage the queen made, and

him; and some there are that do give it, that think him little worthy of it. *All honor that may be attributed unto any man by a wife, he hath it wholly and fully; all praise that may be spoken of him he lacketh not from herself; all dignities that she can endow him with are all ready given and granted. No man pleaseth her that contenteth not him.* And what may I say more? She hath given even unto him her whole will to be ruled and guided as himself liketh. She can as much prevail with him in any thing that his against is will as your lordship may with me, to persuade that I should hang myself.

"This last dignity, out of hand to have him proclaimed king, she would have had it deferred until it were agreed by parliament, or had been himself of twenty-one years of age, that things done in his name might have the better authority. *He would in no case have it deferred one day, and either then or never.*" Ellis, ii. 203.

to what a miserable estate she had drawn France, Scotland, and even Holland, then began,—he would not be dissuaded by any man, but did resolve to use the ordinary means,—and sent out an excommunication against Queen Elizabeth, and contrived a very cunning plot for executing of that sentence, which though it took not effect by reason the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland rose in the northern rebellion before their time and so were instantly suppressed, yet truly it was very probably and very wisely contrived.

This excommunication taking no effect, Pius Quintus a little after died. Then succeeded Gregory the Thirteenth, a man who is wonderfully commended for his compassion and piety, for he built several colleges in Rome for every nation. This man taking the Queen of Scots' case into consideration, did not only write very comfortable letters unto her, but took a special care, and, as they say, gave pensions and allowance of moneys to preserve the person of the young King of Scots, lest the factious men might take some occasion to make him away, that so others might succeed in that crown. He gave indeed good sums; but some will not stick to say that he was cozened as giving pensions to those who did little deserve them.*

* He supplied the Earl of Westmoreland and his party with money. See Murdin's State Papers, 125. William Barker, who was one of the Duke of Norfolk's agents in his communications

After Gregory the Thirteenth succeeded Sixtus Quintus, of whom it is said, that no prince in the world did better know what belonged to government than he. The other popes built churches, colleges, monasteries, conduits, and the like; but he said he would leave full coffers behind him to his successors, whereby they should be able to make their part good against their proudest enemies.* He ran a clean contrary course to his pre-

with the Queen of Scots, affirms that about the same time the Pope sent letters to the Queen of Scots with some "comfortable sentences that she should not distrust; but that he would so provide for her as she should have cause to thank him, and that he would embrace her, and all them that took her part, *sicut gallina pullos suos*; and that he did dispense with all them that would rebel against the Queen of England, and take them as *filios ecclesiæ*. From his nuntio there were letters also of the good disposition of the Pope to help the Queen of Scots; and that any time she could make a party here in England, he would bestow 100,000 crowns, beside any other aid and help that he could procure; and in the mean time, that he had given order with his well-beloved factor Ridolphi to relieve such noblemen and gentlemen as had already begun the matter, that they might be maintained honourably till time might serve to restore them home again, which he hoped would be shortly, unless the war of the Turks did let it for a time."—Murdin, 126.

* These remarks upon the money-loving spirit of Sixtus V. are exactly in keeping with the reports of Cardinal Joyeuse, who about 1587 was agent for Henry III. at Rome. After detailing a conversation which the pope had held with him respecting the means which the pontiff had used for bringing the unruly Italians into subjection, and the necessity in these matters for money and severity, the cardinal observes, that in respect of the second point, the acquisition of treasure, the pope pointed out to him how important it was for a prince to be well

decessors, saying whatsoever was done for children it was forgotten. But he gave a very great helping hand and encouragement to the Armada in 88; and that failing, he died a little after: only he lived to hear of the death of the French king, Henry the Third, who had murdered* the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine; and God had justly requited him.†

provided with money. "The pope," said Sixtus, "in comparison with the King of France, must seem like a fly to an elephant; yet have I in a short space of time collected much money, and shall soon lay by a deal more." On one occasion, the ambassador having applied to him for money on behalf of his master, and supporting this application on the plea of necessity,—*"Necessity!"* interrupted Sixtus; "why, how has he fallen into this necessity? Why has he not laid by money? *A prince without money is nothing.*"—The French ambassador, the Marquis Pisani, writes to Henry III.: "Sixtus will do us no mischief, in as far as it may require expence to do it. Notwithstanding an intermittent fever, he will not keep his bed, consults no physician, scoffs at their ignorance, labours without ceasing, and will not lose an hour; all for the sake of having affairs in the best possible state for his successor. To ask money of this pope was looked upon at Rome as the worst of all heresies."—See V. Raumer's *Illustrations of History*, i. 289.

* Henry caused the Duke of Guise to be stabbed unawares within the court-walls, and presently after his brother, the cardinal, to be strangled, in 1580. The same year he was himself murdered by James Clement, a monk. Doubtless Henry was justified in thus punishing the treachery of the Guises, though not perhaps in the manner in which he inflicted that punishment.

† Sixtus V. died on the 27th August 1590, from a tertiary fever, the effects of which were heightened by excitement produced in consequence of some conversation he had held with

After Sixtus Quintus succeeded Clemens Octavus, a man according to his name, who was much given to mercy and compassion.* Now to him King James did make suit to favour his

the Spanish ambassador, which ended in the pope telling the ambassador, that Philip was a Catholic only in name, and deserved to be put under a ban for his insults to the papal chair. The violence of the fever was increased by his refusing to obey the prescriptions of his physicians, or to abstain from wine and fruit during the great heat of the summer.

* Sir H. Wotton has given an amusing description of the personal appearance and habits of this pontiff. "Clement the Eighth of that name," he says, "and third Pope of Florence, is a man of scant reasonable stature, rather pale of complexion than otherwise, gross of body, of countenance apt enough to authority, and hath indeed the greatest presence among the cardinals, except Montelhero and Cajitan, which some account one of his helps to the seat. His years, fifty-five, he bears well, though his spirits have been somewhat weakened with the gout; yet some say that he feigns that disease, being very accommodable to excuse a coming forth now and then, where the occasion requires; as hath been noted in other popes, and in him once since the coronation. The colour of his face was, as all generally agree, more fresh during the time of his cardinalship than since; and certain speculative wits that search out the causes of things have found, that upon a pasquinade being set forth against him in the form of a prophecy, wherein stood express the 28th of March for the day of his death, he fell into trouble of mind, which is taken to have wrought that effect in his body; a report truly, though mixed with envy, yet not wholly without ground, as hath appeared by the sensible alteration of his countenance since April began; and upon the expiring of that day in March he is said to have used unto Diego del Campo very cheerful words at night concerning that prophecy. Superstition never impaired the complexion of St. Peter, though it have a stroke in his successor."

title to the crown of England ; which, as King James doth relate in his book, *Triplici nodo triplex cuneus*, the pope did promise to do. But then, as Bellarmine says, there was another promise from the king, that he would favour Catholics ; and further, that the king should add that he would at this instant time more favour them, were it not that the English would take it ill, and it would much hinder him in his succession ; and withall, that his own subjects in Scotland were so violent against Catholics, that he, being poor, durst not offend them. Whereupon the pope replied, that if it were for want of means, he would exhaust all the treasures of the church and sell the plate to supply him.

Here notice was taken that the king made means to the pope. I have seen a pamphlet written some years before his coming into England : the title of it was—*Look to the Back Door* : and therein he is deeply charged. Lipsius likewise in his epistles doth a little touch upon his art of dissembling ; and I verily believe that the fear of having this discovered to Queen Elizabeth did occasion Mr. James Hudson, his agent, who told me the tale, to make offer unto Queen Elizabeth's secretary,* that if he did desire to have

* Some notice of this occurs in the secret correspondence of James and Cecil. Northampton, in a letter to the king, hints in his obscure manner at some persons who in "this unlucky instant put into the head of Queen Elizabeth, that Lindsay was

intelligence out of the pope's bedchamber, or the King of Spain's bedchamber, that he was able to recommend several men unto him, who should do him very good and faithful service in that kind; fearing, as I suppose, that the secretary should otherwise discover his correspondency, which hereby he might conceive was only held for prevention of mischief. The secretary thanked him very kindly, but withall told him that he was sufficiently provided of intelligencers, both there and in all other courts.

Hereunto we may add the coming forth of some books; as Parsons the jesuit doth confess, knowing the king to be fearful, they put jealousies into him: as namely, Dolman,* who set

now returning into Scotland from Rome, with great promises of allowance towards the maintaining of a guard (for James), and other sweet hints of encouragement, drawing their discovery out of the archduke's court, where they nourished a certain muddy spring of intelligence."—Corresp. of James and Cecil, p. 61. Lindsay's mission to Rome is again alluded to in Villeroi's letters.—See V. Raumer's Hist. of the XVI. Cent. &c. ii. 213.

* Alban Dolman, a priest of great credit among the Roman Catholics. Charles Paget, in a letter to the Queen of Scots, in which he advises her to consult with Mr. Dolman, "whose credit is so universally good by reason of his function in many shires," gives the following account of his person and appearance:—"This good priest hath lived in England this fifteen years, and so thereby hath great acquaintance and love of many. He is of comely personage, and when he is attired like a gentleman of good calling, as commonly he goeth, one would esteem him a justice of peace. He is not a seminary priest, and

forth the uncertain titles of the Kings of England; as namely, from the Conquest, that Rufus and Henry the First should exclude their eldest brother Robert Curtoys; that King Stephen should exclude Maud the empress; that King John should exclude Jeffrey; his eldest brother and his issue. That Edward the Second and Richard the Second should be both deposed. That the House of Lancaster should exclude the House of York for three generations. That Richard the Third should dispossess the children of Edward the Fourth, and of the Duke of Clarence. That Henry the Seventh should have little or no title, for he would not hold the crown in the right of his wife. That Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, both of them, could not have a good title; and for Queen Elizabeth something doth yet appear under King Henry the Eighth's own handwriting in the Vatican library at Rome, which a little concerns Queen Elizabeth. And for that foul aspersion, which many conceive to have been Saunders his own fiction,* certain it is

therefore our laws are not so sharp against him, and thereby he shall be better able to do you service."—Murdin, p. 438. His name is better known by Father Parsons having adopted it, and prefixed it to some of his most notorious productions; probably on account of Dolman's credit and influence, and not, as some writers have thought, from a wish to injure Dolman.

* Respecting the connexion of Henry with the lady of Sir Thomas Boleyn, and Elizabeth's illegitimacy. *De Schism.* p. 14; 1588. The report has been thoroughly sifted by Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.* I. ii. p. 418.

he had it from Judge Rastal, one of the judges of the Common Pleas; and he was the author of the report, for anything that appears to the contrary. And to these they did add sometimes the law Salique, some other old laws of England, and how far the impeachment and execution of the Queen of Scots might disparage that title. These things were only thought upon to strike fear and jealousy into King James, whereby he might seek unto Catholic princes, and so engage himself to favour Catholics. And certainly they had very great promises from him.*

Towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeth there was a great meeting of the lords in the Star Chamber; and there they did take upon them unanimously to declare, that they were wholly bent for the religion now settled in England, against popery and all other sects whatsoever. It should seem that in the queen's declining old age some were a little wavering in religion; and as the laws were very strict against recusants, so the judges did not spare to put them in execution. The powerful faction in parliament was wholly against recusants; and always the first bill that was proposed was either against papists or the church, or for the keeping of the Sabbath, only to feel men's pulses to see how they stood affected.

The common people did hate them above mea-

* See the letter of Watson, the seminary priest, in the second volume.

sure; for they must have ever an object to their hate. Heretofore the Welsh, the Scots, or the Spaniard, and the French upon occasion; but now in these later times only the papists. This the king knew full well; and now that he was quietly and peaceably proclaimed, he had been but few days on his journey towards London, when he received a letter from the French king Henry the Fourth, wishing him and advising him to take heed how he did favour the catholics, for that they were all of the Spanish faction. Thus King James, having encouragement both from his own subjects, and from the French king, whom he did esteem above all others, he did resolve to run a course against the papists; and to that end, when some times for joy of his coming, upon his entrance to the crown, as the manner is, he did set prisoners at liberty, for some offences give pardon, yet still the papists were excluded, and they were to receive no benefit.* Then at his discourses at table usually he did express much hatred to them. Some of them had suffered much in his mother's cause, yet was there no notice taken of them.

The papists, finding this, bethought themselves what course to take, and knowing many ambassadors would come from foreign princes not only to congratulate, but to renew leagues and to conclude peace, and therein to involve such as were

* See this confirmed in Watson's very curious letter, printed in the second volume.

their friends and confederates, they thought there could not be a greater bond than religion ; and therefore, though they were not involved in the league, yet some favour might be requested and procured in their behalf. And as I doubt not but catholics made their means to several princes, so it is certain that Thomas Winter, a most able, understanding gentleman, did solicit the King of Spain ; where no doubt but he had very good usage and entertainment, and much compassion shewed, and a great desire to help them, insomuch as some have thought that the Spaniard did as much desire to relieve them as to procure peace for themselves ; but, fearing lest two businesses being undertaken at once, they might one hinder the other, and haply both might fail, therefore he thought it fit first to treat for his own peace ; which being agreed upon and concluded, he might be the better able to become a spokesman for catholics.* So then Thomas Winter was assured of their loves, even from all sorts of men both

* The government had its eye upon these men at a time considerably prior to the breaking forth of the Gunpowder Plot. They were suspected of hatching some conspiracy at the death of Queen Elizabeth. Thus Camden, writing to Sir Robert Cotton upon that occasion, informs him that the council had thought fit "to commit some gentlemen hunger-starved for innovations, as Sir Edm. Bainham, Catesby, Tresham, two Wrights, &c. and afterward the Count Arundel of Wardour to a gentleman's house, for speeches used by the aforesaid turbulent spirits as concerning him, or for that he made lately some provision of armour."—Ellis, iii. 172, Second Series.

clergy and laity, and did verily believe that they would not be wanting to further catholics if there were any hope or possibility to prevail.

For the French, they did no way interpose for them; and it is conceived by some that there are no greater enemies in the world to the Church of Rome than the French politics. And it is thought that if favour were to be shewed to the catholics, they would hinder it, because they admit of religion no farther but as it stands with the greatness and advantage of their state. So they desire to nourish the opposition to Spain, which cannot be better effected than by the continuance of the difference in religion. And he that shall consider the great disorders in their religious houses and foundations, shall find a great want of zeal and devotion in them: whereas the Spaniards having many territories, some in the East Indies, some in the West, and in every part of the world, so that he can say what no prince can say but himself, *Sol mihi semper lucet*;—every hour in the day is high noon with him in one part of his dominions or other. Thus, having such scattered provinces as he hath, the dependence of them upon the Church of Rome for point of religion is a far greater tie and obligation to keep them in peace and subjection under the Spanish government than are the laws and power of the sword. So that, if he should be a little wavering in his religion, certainly his many several provinces would

shiver and scatter in pieces. And therefore the name of Catholic was not first given to Ferdinand, as they say, (and yet that was before Philip of Austria had matched with Ferdinand's daughter,) but they would seem to produce records wherein the name of Catholic was conferred upon the Kings of Castile nine hundred years before that time.

Another great obligation whereby the English catholics did so much adhere to the Spaniard was, because upon the change of religion by Queen Elizabeth, Philip the Second, Queen Mary's husband, had been very kind, and gave entertainment and pensions to some who had fled for religion; and a while after the untimely death of Henry the Second, the French king, France was in a combustion, and by several fits and degrees still began new wars, which did so much impoverish them, that they were hardly able to subsist themselves, much less to relieve others; so that in effect our papists were little beholden to them. Now, Cardinal Allen, considering that if there were not English seminaries abroad, then in effect the catholic religion would utterly fail in England for want of priests, therefore by his endeavours seminaries were erected, not only at Rome, but in Douay within the King of Spain's dominions, who did likewise give them a pension, which was sometimes well paid, and sometimes not.

Queen Elizabeth aiding and supporting the Hollanders against the Spaniard, a great cause of her complaint was, that the Spaniard gave harbour to those whom she conceived to be her professed enemies, and were ever practising against her state; and being in that nearness, they might be the more prejudicial unto her. Whereupon the Spaniard, desiring to give all possible content, caused those English priests and students to depart from Douay; who immediately removed to Rheims, the archbishopric there belonging to the House of Lorraine, which was ever totally catholic. But the Spaniard, perceiving that although he had gratified the queen in this, yet she held on her courses against him and had some other design, awhile after he permitted those priests to return again to Douay; and there they have ever since continued. So in regard of that protection and many other favours done by the Spaniard, the catholics did ever observe him.

Hereunto you may add the carriage and disposition of King James: truly I did never know any man of so great an apprehension, of so great love and affection,—a man so truly just, so free from all cruelty and pride, such a lover of the church, and one that had done so much good for the church. In effect, all the bishoprics in Ireland and Scotland were erected and endowed by him; whereof one bishopric in Ireland, as I have heard, namely, Clogher, doth exceed any one bishopric

in England. And as I have spoken this in his commendation, so, on the other side, I must needs blame him, that he was a man wonderfully passionate, much given to swearing, and he was not so careful of his carriage as he might be. I heard a very wise man take great exceptions against him, that the first year of his coming hither, when there was in London a greater plague than ever before had been, yet he took it not to heart, nor made such use of God's judgments as he should have done; for he never neglected one day's hunting, and in his words he sometimes gave great offence both in respect of God and man.* I forbear to instance in them: yet, to excuse them a little, this was for the instant and in hot blood; for if you would give him but a little respite he was as patient as any man, and could as well moderate his passion.

Mr. James Hudson coming with the Scottish ambassador to take his leave of King James, when he was sent upon the embassy to Queen Elizabeth, they demanded of the king what further directions he would be pleased to give them, seeing they were sent to so wise a prince and so wise a council as any were in Christendom, and a prince that was so generally beloved of her people. The king answered them, that he had nothing,

* "In common speaking, as in his hunting, he stood not on the cleanest but nearest way. He would never go about to make any expressions." Fuller's Ch. Hist. x. p. 114.

but only to hold good correspondency, and to make the best preparation they could, that he might quietly succeed after the queen's time; but if any one should offer his service during the queen's life, that they should utterly refuse it; and if there were any danger, they should detect him. This Mr. Hudson did acquaint the queen withall: as he said, at the hearing of it, the very tears were in her eyes, and she turned her back to wipe her eyes. It should seem the queen then had some fear and jealousy lest the king gave some encouragement to the rebellion in Ireland by Tyrone; whereas in truth the king therein did carry himself like a wise and a just king: he did no way assist the rebels, but as a looker-on he did not suppress them, but was content with their rebellion. For thereby all the soldiers, who if they had stayed in England might have been mutinous and tumultuous upon the death of the queen, had their employment in another country. And this I know to be true; for I had it from the messenger himself that upon the great victory which Tyrone had at Blackwater, where Sir Henry Bagnall* was killed, he sent a messenger to the King of Scots, who coming to Edinborough, found some means to let the king know that there was such a messenger there from

* He was Tyrone's bitterest adversary. The victory at Blackwater was gained in 1598, and was the greatest overthrow ever sustained by the English in that country.

Tyrone. The king would give him no audience there, but wished him to be such a day in such a place, where the king would be hunting, and there he would speak with him very privately, that no notice might be taken thereof. At the place and time appointed, the messenger spoke with the king, and delivered his message, which was to this effect: that if the king would supply him with some provisions, he would instantly proclaim him King of Ireland, and set the crown upon his head; together with some other compliments concerning his own title and the blessed memory of his mother. The king thanked him for his love, and told him, that if he would be pleased to lay down arms he would use the best means he could that he might have good conditions upon his submission, but for the crown of Ireland he did hope to come to it upon a better title than by rebellion, upon his own just right and title of succession, and by inheritance.*

This messenger had afterwards occasion to speak with King James after his coming to England,

* It is stated in a MS. of Spotswood's History, that it was expected that in the parliament held in 1601, some motion would be made touching a successor to the queen. But when nothing was done to that effect, many private suggestions were made to James, to send an embassy upon that especial business, with assurance from persons of good credit, that if the queen refused the request, his cause should be backed by an army of 60,000 men. They further offered to send all their subscriptions in a book before he should employ any in that commission. To

and the king, looking upon him, asked him whether he had never spoken with him before. "Yes," quoth the messenger, "upon such an occasion." Then said the king, "How hast thou lived ever since?" as if the king would have put him upon some suit to reward his good service in bringing that message; so bountiful was this good king and so desirous to do good to all men.

Some have reported for the honour of Queen Elizabeth, that Tyrone was suppressed and the peace absolutely concluded in her time; which truly was otherwise, for Tyrone knew his case to be desperate and that there was no pardon to be expected from the queen. But when he heard that the queen was sick, and very dangerously sick, then he began to treat with the deputy, the Lord Mountjoy; and when he heard that she was dead and King James was proclaimed, then he came in, and was present at the king's proclamation, and came up to London in the company of the Lord Mountjoy to be presented to the king,* where he staid for a time and afterwards was dismissed to his own home; but finding King James to be

this proposal James answered, that he did not intend to stir up a rebellion in England against the queen, but would patiently wait God's own good time, who, he doubted not, would bring him to the peaceable enjoyment of his right.—See the passage quoted at length by Dalrymple, in Cecil's Secret Correspondence, p. 43.—James was not such a fool as many would represent him to be.

* Balfour, i. 414.

very averse to the papists, and doubting whether upon fears* and jealousies he might not be suppressed and so fall into new troubles, he departed Ireland and fled to Rome, and there lived at the pope's charge, and so died.

Here there was a general report throughout the whole kingdom what a good king he was, that he was the king of poor men, and would hear any man in a just cause: and truly his books which were then extant did argue great abilities in him. Then, for the queen, she was ever hard of access, and grew to be very covetous in her old days: so that whatsoever she undertook, she did it to the halves only, to save charge;† that suits were very

* Not a causeless fear, certainly. For according to Sir James Balfour, he had again been practising his old tricks, attempting to bring over the Spaniards into Ireland. On the 16th of November 1607, according to the same writer, a proclamation was issued concerning the sudden flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, who had fled from Ireland into Spain in the preceding month. It set forth their practices to extirpate the English from Ireland, and how the Earl of Tyrone had been soliciting foreign princes to attempt its conquest.—Balfour, ii. 23.

† Her penuriousness is described in no measured terms by Lord Henry Howard, in his letter to Mr. Bruce, in Cecil's Secret Correspondence, p. 78.

In the previous part of his narrative our author has alluded to the growing unpopularity of Elizabeth, which was probably occasioned by her great parsimony, and still more, by the intrigues of her courtiers, especially such of them as were anxious to ruin Cecil in the esteem of his mistress. Powerful as was the influence which Cecil possessed over her, so much as to gain for him the title of, King of the English Court, he did not escape without many a rub and severe check from the

hardly gotten, and in effect more spent in expectation and attendance than the suit could any way countervail; that the court was very much neglected, and in effect the people were very generally weary of an old woman's government. And this no doubt might be some cause of the Queen's melancholy, and that she should break out into such words as these: "They have yoked my neck,—I can do nothing,—I have not one man in whom I can repose trust: I am a miserable forlorn

Queen, whose suspicions were roused, and whose temper, soured by years, was easily provoked. Henry Howard, in a letter to Edw. Bruce, has detailed a conversation which happened between Cecil and the Queen about 1602, which vividly describes the tact of the prime minister in parrying these sudden bursts of displeasure. "After I had folded up this letter," says Lord Henry Howard, "I was sent for by Cecil, and with him had long discourse of a sharp encounter between his sovereign and him about the poverty of the state, the continuance of charge, the discontentment of all sorts of people, and impossibility to go through at this charge which her affairs put her to. The passion was strong, the smart very sensible, and the reasons more pregnant than her manner is to produce of ordinary; which made me assure myself, that they which inspire her take more pain, than they were wont, to study their own politics. They have made her feel the vast burthen of her expense; they have made her see the short measures of her supplies; they have put her in fear of all kinds of distress, that want in the subject and excess of charges to the state is like to bring her to. They have sought to make those suspected that persuade the war, and those either negligent or corrupt that conduct the war; putting a firm conceit, and not improbable, as it is set out in colours, that the Irish war, being the chiefest drain of her consumption, is fortified and fed for other men's particulars. No man could answer more judiciously and honestly than Cecil

woman."* But after a few years, when we had experience of the Scottish government, then in disparagement of the Scots, and in hate and detestation of them, the Queen did seem to revive; then was her memory much magnified,—such ringing of bells, such public joy and sermons in commemoration of her, the picture of her tomb painted in many churches, and in effect more solemnity and joy in memory of her coronation than was for the coming in of King James.

to every point, tempering her fears, improving causes of hope, excusing persons in employment, and abating passion."—Cecil's Secret Correspondence.

There can be no question but that the Irish war had great effect upon the Queen's spirits, and in producing that melancholy which was one cause of her death. All this, and the shrewd management of Cecil, the romantic gallantry and bravery of Montjoy, and the anxiety of the Queen, will be seen in their letters upon the subject of the Irish war, printed in the commencement of the Second Volume of this Work.

* These expressions are imputed to her by Camden, whose account is supported by the statements of Bishop Goodman, and the Earl of Monmouth in his Memoirs, p. 172; whose narrative of the Queen's sickness is familiar to most readers of English history.—See also the letters and notes in the Second Volume.

CHAPTER V.

Extravagance of the Scots in England. — Confirmation of Laws against Recusants. — Persecution of the Papists—Their determination.—Sir Robert Cecil's knowledge of the intended treason. — The traitors — Percy, Catesby, Tresham, Garnet, Faux.—Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot.—Fate of some of the traitors. — Apprehension, confession and execution of Garnet. — Necessity of auricular confession.—Baldwyn, the Jesuit.—George Brooks.

I HAVE written the foregoing to show what motives might be both for the Gunpowder Plot, as also for the plot of Lord Cobham; for now they began to waver in their opinion concerning King James, and knowing the Scots to be very poor, and that what they had, they had from the English, and to live at such great expense and to carry themselves so highly, surely the people were not well contented therewith. And now began a parliament wherein the King, as they say, being no way provoked, but rather engaged unto them, as having obliged themselves to defend his title, having suffered very much in his mother's cause, having had those firm and large promises from his majesty, as they say it will appear at this time by a letter written to the pretended Earl of West-

moreland, then serving in the Low Countries, the King did pass an act for confirmation of all those laws made against recusants, and that without limitation of time or any qualification.

Here the papists bethought themselves that now their case was far worse than it was in the time of Queen Elizabeth; for then they did live in some hope that after the old woman's life they might have some mitigation, and even those who did then persecute them were a little more moderate, as being doubtful what times might succeed, and fearing their own case; but now that they saw the times settled, having no hope of better days, but expecting that the uttermost rigour of the law should be executed, they became desperate; finding that by the laws of the kingdom their own lives were not secured, and for the coming over of a priest into England it was no less than high treason. A gentlewoman was hanged only for relieving and harbouring a priest; a citizen was hanged only for being reconciled to the Church of Rome: besides, the penal laws were such and so executed that they could not subsist;—what was usually sold in shops and openly bought, this the pursuivant would take away from them as being popish and superstitious. One knight did affirm that in one term he gave twenty nobles in rewards to the doorkeeper of the attorney-general; another did affirm, that his third part which remained unto him of his estate did hardly serve

for his expence in law to defend him from other oppressions; besides their children to be taken from home to be brought up in another religion. So they did every way conclude that their estate was desperate; they could die but once, and their religion was more precious unto them than their lives. They did further consider their misery, how they were debarred in any course of life to help themselves: they could not practise law, they could not be citizens, they could have no office; they could not breed up their sons—none did desire to match with them; they had neither fit marriages for their daughters, nor nunneries to put them into,—for those few which are beyond seas are not considerable in respect of the number of recusants, and none can be admitted into those without great sums of money, which they, being exhausted, could not supply. The Spiritual Court did not cease to molest them, to excommunicate them, then to imprison them; and thereby they were utterly disenabled to sue for their own.

These, and many other their pretended grievances, did put that resolution into them as upon the first advantage either they would lose all, or vindicate their religion and their liberty, expecting that if they should be once up in arms that then their bordering neighbours of the same religion would be ready to aid and assist them in their just defence—only they must have a head

and a considerable body, that they might not be instantly suppressed, and some courses were thought upon that did amount to no less than high treason.

The great statesman* had intelligence of all this; and because he would shew his service to the state, he would first contrive and then discover a treason; and the more odious and hateful the treason were, his service would be the greater and the more acceptable. And to them who have once gone so far as to commit treason, let what will be proposed unto them they cannot go backward, and in all hostile actions they do not tie themselves to any measure or stint, but they fall to the extremity of evil rather than they will fail in their designs.

Now I must describe the persons of some of those traitors. Percy was a kinsman to the Earl of Northumberland: the earl, being captain of the Pensioners, did make him one of the King's Pensioners. It is certain that he was a very loose liver—that he had two wives, one in the south and another in the north. An honourable good lady said, she knew them both; his wife in the south was so mean and poor that she was fain to teach school and bring up gentlewomen; there are yet some living that were her scholars. He living then with the Earl of Northumberland,† the house

* Sir Robert Cecil.

† James has sometimes been accused of ingratitude towards

was not thought to be very religious. I remember there was a report that one Hericke did use to resort to the house, and that he was wont there to read lectures of atheism; so I conceive that Percy was not very religious. Then, for Catesby, it is very well known that he was a very cunning subtle man, exceedingly entangled in debts, and scarce able to subsist. This man took a house in Lambeth, and to this house all the barrels of powder were to be brought, that so by night they might be conveyed to Mr. Percy's house, who had taken a house from the keeper of the parliament, with an intent to undermine the parliament house; but coming to a wall, and finding it very hard and difficult, and the gentlemen not accustomed to labour or to be pioneers, they fell to an easier course, to hire the coal-house under the parliament, and there to put in so much charcoal as

Northumberland; nor have Cecil and Northampton escaped the imputation of endeavouring to ruin him with the King. As far as James is concerned the charge is unfounded; Northumberland's patriotism was as much to secure his own interests as to promote the welfare of his sovereign. He was unquestionably involved in the intrigues of Cobham and Raleigh, previous to the accession of James; yet the King had not only forgiven him, but had made him, together with Montjoy and Southampton, one of his privy council. He lost his master's favour not merely because one of his own relations, Percy, had been an active instrument in the Gunpowder Treason, but because Northumberland himself was generally suspected of being privy to the plot, and of having received a letter, like the Lord Mounteagle, giving him notice of it, which he had carefully suppressed.

would hide and cover the barrels of powder ; and yet they were so negligent as they did not throw in that earth which they digged out of the mine, but left it open that it might be seen ;—and I myself did see it.

To these I will annex Tresham, a man of a good estate, and a strict catholic ; and he it was that wrote the letter to my Lord Mounteagle, who lived then at Bethnall Green near Aldgate ; and this man was thought to be somewhat weak in judgment, and it is not unlike he might help out other men's poverty and bear a great part of the charge.

There was there Christopher Winter, a man, as I take it, of a good estate ; there was Thomas Winter, a very able understanding man. There was there Mr. Rookwood, a man of a competent estate but somewhat indebted, very ingenious, and a man exceedingly well beloved. And to conclude all, there was Henry Garnet, the provincial jesuit, a very learned man, and a very judicious, nice, understanding man.

Now it is conceived that when as once they had entered into traitorous considerations and were guilty of treason, that Percy, who hired this house adjoining the parliament, did put them upon this particular plot ; and this is most certain ; I will name my author, who is beyond all exception, Sir Francis Moore, who had been an ancient acquaintance to this Mr. Percy, for he had for-

merly solicited the Earl of Northumberland's suits, and had married his wife out of that house. Being the Lord Keeper Egerton's favourite, and having some occasion of business with him at twelve of the clock at night, and going then homeward from York House to the Middle Temple at two, several times he met Mr. Percy coming out of that great statesman's house, and wondered what his business should be there. But now the time came of acting this treason; and the plot was, that Faux alone should be left in Westminster to act the deed, while all the rest should be in the country, and there, under colour of a great hunting, they should seize upon the person of the Lady Elizabeth, the king's eldest daughter. Now before, Tresham in his letter to my Lord Mounteagle did wish him to absent himself the first day of the parliament, for that God and man had resolved to take sudden vengeance, or to that effect.

This letter my Lord Mounteagle did instantly impart to the secretary; the Secretary did instantly acquaint the King and some of the council therewith: the King must have the honour to interpret it, that it was by gunpowder; and the very night before the parliament began it was to be discovered, to make the matter the more odious and the deliverance more miraculous. No less than the lord chamberlain must search for it and discover it, and Faux with his dark lantern must

be apprehended. This being discovered, while the rest of the traitors were in Warwickshire and Worcestershire, they had seized upon some horses for war in Sir Fulke Greville's stable in Warwick Castle; but as soon as they heard that the treason was discovered and prevented in the parliament house, they desisted in their design, and all of them betook themselves to one house, where immediately they were beset; and while they were drying their gunpowder at the fire, a spark took some of it, whereby some of the company were blasted, which they did ascribe to the just judgment of God, that seeing they would have blown up others, they by God's mercy escaped, and they themselves were punished in the same kind.

Now here was a great oversight; that whereas there was no possibility that the traitors could resist, nor any hope that they could escape, neither did they kill any one man that did beset them, therefore a special charge should have been given that they should take the traitors alive, whereby that upon the rack they might discover the whole plot. Now they that beset them were permitted to shoot, and did kill Percy and Catesby, the two principal contrivers of the plot, and none but they were killed; and some will not stick to report, that the great statesman sending to apprehend these traitors gave special charge and direction for Percy and Catesby, "Let me never see

them alive ;” who it may be would have revealed some evil counsel given. As for Tresham, he fell very sick in the Tower ; and Butler,* the great physician of Cambridge, coming to visit him as his fashion was, he gave him a piece of very pure gold to be put in his mouth ; and upon the taking out of that gold, Butler said that he was poisoned. For the keeper of the parliament house, who let out the lodgings to Percy, it is said that as soon as ever he heard of the news what Percy intended, he instantly fell into a fright and died ; so that it could not be certainly known who procured him the house, or by whose means.

Now the traitors impeached none others ; yet

* He was one of the most eminent physicans of his day. Some curious anecdotes respecting his odd humours and strange cures are told in the new edition of Wood's Fast. i. 92. n.

According to Fuller, he was Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge when he became the *Æsculapius* of our age. He was the first Englishman who applied chemistry to the study of medicine with greater success than any of his predecessors. “ His eye was excellent at the instant discovery of a cadaverous face, on which he would not lavish any art : this made him at the first sight of sick Prince Henry to get himself out of sight. Knowing himself to be the prince of physicians, he would be observed accordingly. Compliments would prevail nothing with him, entreaties but little ; surly threatenings would do much, and a witty jest do any thing.—He was a good benefactor to Clare Hall, and dying 1621, he was buried in the chancel of St. Mary's in Cambridge under a fair monument. Mr. John Combe, that expert apothecary, and his executor, is since buried by him ; and if some eminent surgeon were interred on his other side, I would say that Physic lay here in state with its two pages attending it.”—Worthies, Suff. p. 67.

the state knowing where to find out Garnet, the provincial jesuit, did apprehend him, and having nothing to lay to his charge, they put him into a chamber where they knew he would have a confessor. Nothing could be spoken there so softly but others could hear it; so that two overheard him making his confession, and acknowledging that in hearing the confession of others he had knowledge thereof, for which he was condemned and executed. It hath since appeared that divers priests in their letters to Rome did much complain that they found Catholics very desperate, and that they could not persuade them to any obedience, but did much fear they intended mischief.

For the Plot of the Gunpowder it was not so strange and new as some will make it; for Bishop Fisher, in Henry the Eighth's time, after his cook had been lured to poison his porridge, whereby, as I take it, sixteen of his family were poisoned, and himself not eating porridge that day, escaped: afterwards there was a plot to blow him up in his study. So King James's father; the house where he was murdered was blown up with gunpowder. But the first plot that ever I heard of was this:—In Venice they have a custom, that if any man do find out a new invention or discover any danger, he shall be rewarded for it. Now it should seem the council house there hath certain shops below, and one of the citizens made this objection: what if a wicked

traitor, instead of bringing in barrels of oil should bring barrels of powder, and while the senate were sitting should blow up the house; how easy might a foreign enemy then overthrow the state?

Now for Henry Garnet, the provincial jesuit, how far he was to be blamed herein, what he might advise, or how far he might counsel and further the treason, it did not appear by any examination: all that was proved against him was, that he in his own confession, did confess that he had heard of the Powder Plot, of others, only in confession. Now here three questions are to be resolved: First, whether there should be admitted any confession in the church; secondly, concerning the seal of confession, how far forth it is to be kept, and wherein it may be broken. For confession itself, the Church of England began the Common Prayer with a confession of sins; it was indeed a general confession, because all the people were to join therein; but in the visitation of the sick there is a particular confession, and upon the repentance of the patient there follows the absolution of the priest. So that I conclude, that confession is an effect of repentance, commanded in scripture, "Confess your sins one to another," necessary to every member of a church; for thereby we imply that we are of the mystical body of Christ; and that one member receives benefit from another, as the eye to direct the feet,

and the feet to support the eye; and lastly, to acknowledge the order in the Church, for the office of a priest is to forgive sins, these sins cannot be forgiven without repentance, repentance cannot be known without confession; which confession, as it is general in a general assembly, so ought it to be particular in respect of private sins and a particular application. Thus as in the natural world God doth use natural means for our natural preservation, (for God could have preserved us without food or raiment, but he hath ordained both for the necessity of our being,) so in the spiritual world God hath ordained spiritual means to conduct us to a spiritual end, to his kingdom in heaven, as namely, sacraments; thus hath God his own proper commonwealth; namely, his church; therein he hath his proper magistrates and officers; and as the temporal judge can do nothing but according to law, so neither can the bishop nor priest do anything but according to his warrant in scripture: and if in the natural world God doth use our parents as means to give us our natural being, then why should it seem strange that God should use priesthood as means for our regeneration? And as natural parents through God's mercy give life unto others, yet cannot preserve their own lives, so a priest, though a sinner, yet may forgive another man's sins, because he doth it in the right of another, and by the warrant and institution of

our Redeemer. Thus hath God here on earth a tribunal, and the sins of man must be examined and adjudged here upon earth before they can be acquitted in heaven ; and for any man to neglect the means here upon earth, and to say that he will appeal only to God himself, and without other means seek immediately to God himself, which no doubt is the fashion, custom, and practice of many, this is utterly to overthrow that order which Christ hath already instituted and appointed, and so in effect to dissolve Christ's church and to renounce all Christian religion, and so they must shift for themselves, and they alone must be saved,* for there can be no pretence that they should be members of God's church, and therefore all the privileges and immunities belonging to God's church ; as that she should be the espoused of Christ, the ark, the state of salvation built upon a rock ; in all these, nor the like they have neither part nor portion.

So much for the necessity of confession ; which being supposed, whatsoever may any way hinder it must be removed. Now confession is a private act, made unto God alone, and between God and our own conscience ; the priest is admitted as the means under God, and only in relation to God, without any respect had to worldly business : if then a

* That is ; if saved, saved as individuals, not as members of Christ's church, and consequently not heirs of the promises made to that church.

man's private confession shall be revealed, published and manifested, as it is against his own intention and the precept of the church, so it will hinder both him and others from making confession, and so they shall live and die imminent, without examination of their consciences or the absolution of the priest, and so in effect to live and die in Gentileism, and therefore the seal of confession hath ever been most sacred and inviolable.

Yet, notwithstanding, seeing all God's sacraments are instituted for the good of the church and not for destruction, lest the seal of confession might tend to a secret conspiracy, therefore if any thing should pass in confession, wherein notwithstanding the ghostly father may conceive a just fear lest the party be not sufficiently penitent, and therefore may be induced upon some occasion to execute his designs, here the priest may by way of prevention, without nominating any party, use such means for the prevention of the evil as he in his Christian charity shall think fit; but if it concerns those of a different religion who have not that Christian care and practice of confession, but do utterly neglect it in themselves and condemn the practice thereof in others, how far the priest is bound to reveal it to these men some doubt may be made, and the resolution thereof depends upon several circumstances, time, place, the condition of the persons, &c. Now in

this particular case, where England hath no respect to confession, but hangs up the priests, and desires to root out that religion, how far Garnet was bound to reveal it, he doubted: certain it is, he wrote to his superiors in Rome several letters, that he found the Catholics here very desperate in their resolutions, and that he could not keep them from bloody designs, and therefore did crave that advice and counsel how he should carry himself in things of that great moment; but I never heard that ever he had any resolution from them.

Here Garnet bethought himself, what if he should acquaint the state therewith, that he heard in confession that there was such a powder plot; hereby he must confess himself to be a priest, which by the law of the land is no less than high treason, and he thought they would not spare to execute that law upon him, but first they would put him to the rack, to be examined for all the several circumstances; and though he did confess the treason, yet certainly he would not discover the persons: yet this not giving them satisfaction, certainly they would not spare his tortures, and, it may be, accuse him for the author and sole contriver of the treason; and thus, instead of doing the state service, he should expose himself to all kind of tortures, besides the scandal and foul imputation which would be cast upon his church and his orders. Yet others do confidently

affirm that he was justly condemned, because he knew the laws of the kingdom ; that it was treason to conceal such a treason, and therefore he should have conditioned that they should not reveal to him anything which should concern the state, but for other their sins he would hear them and give them absolution upon their repentance.

But if this caution were not thought upon, and that he had no reason to suspect, neither is it usual to make such conditions, then upon the revealing of the treason, knowing the concealing thereof to be treason, he should have gone beyond seas, and there advising with his superiors what was to be done, he might by letter so far have prevented and discovered things, that such a cursed design, the like whereof was never heard or known among Christians, might not have taken effect. There was likewise another Jesuit, one Baldwyn, who lived in the Low Countries, and they had a strong suspicion of him to have a hand in this treason ; but others did conceive the suspicion did only arise in regard of the great favour and esteem which Baldwyn had in those parts, whereby he might have been helpful unto them if the business had proceeded to a rebellion. Here the King sent to the Archduke Albert to deliver up this traitor unto him ; to whom the Archduke returned the answer, that he was a Churchman, and therefore did claim the liberties and privileges of the Church, which he could not

infringe, and therefore could not deliver him up as a prisoner, but out of his respect to King James he should not be permitted any longer to continue in those parts, whereby not being in such nearness to England, much less having any such power, he could not be an instrument of mischief. This Baldwyn's carriage was such, and his modest answers were such at his examination, that the great statesman in those times, as I have heard, did send his only son unto him upon slight errands and messages, that so he might be acquainted with him and hear him discourse, and learn wisdom of him. This Baldwyn afterward, by the intercession of some ambassador, was set at liberty and then departed the kingdom; and so ends my relation of the Gunpowder Treason, which was in effect the only treason in the time of King James; for that of the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Rawleigh, I conceive, was but a kind of embryo, wherein discontented persons had but a kind of plot to betray one another. The original thereof I ascribe to George Brooks, who was a man of great understanding, and he knowing very well the practice of former times, that statesmen did make treasons and then discover them, he being brother-in-law to the Secretary, thought he might run the same course, and that it should be done by way of trial and temptation.

CHAPTER VI.

Throgmorton's Treason.—Treason of Dr. Parry—His Execution.
 The Queen of Scots, Babington, Salisbury &c.—Mr. Camden
 and Thuanus.—Rumours respecting the Queen of Scots.—
 Remarkable saying of Secretary Davison.—Preferment of
 the persecutors of Queen Mary of Scotland.—King James's
 love of quietness and peace.

I WILL now take occasion to look back and to
 examine such treasons as have happened in my
 time. First, Throgmorton's treason, which was
 principally this,—that there was found in his
 study a note of some harbours and havens in Eng-
 land, what ships and of what burden they would
 carry, and how safely they might there abide;
 an observation which certainly many mariners and
 seafaring men do observe, but this being found
 with him, and he being known to be inclining
 to the Church of Rome, upon some pretence that
 it was for an invasion, he was found guilty.

Now the true cause was this: his father was
 chief justice of Chester, made by Queen Mary, and
 upon this occasion. The judge, his father, being
 an ancient gentleman, living altogether in the

country, yet had a house in London, where his sons did resort ; and he had one son who waited upon the Duke of Northumberland in his bed-chamber. When King Edward the Sixth was now very sick, and past all hopes of recovery, the marriage was past between one of the Duke of Northumberland's sons and the Lady Jane, intended to be Queen. Gates,* who was of the council and a great man with the duke, came to him one morning when he was in his bed, and told him that the plot was well laid and all things well contrived ; “ But, sir, will you suffer the Lady Mary to escape, and not secure her person ? ” Upon which words the duke did resolve to take it into consideration, and something should be done speedily concerning the Lady Mary. This Throgmorton overhearing, came to his father's

* Some important information respecting this man occurs in Von Raumer's Hist. of XVI. Cent. &c. ii. 78, from the account of a contemporary writer. After describing Northumberland's character and personal appearance, he adds, that Northumberland had raised such an opinion of himself in the mind of Edward VI, that the king respected him as though he had been the duke's subject, and did everything, as if of his own impulse, as Northumberland desired. From fear of exciting jealousy, should it be known how much he interfered in everything, the duke caused all affairs in which he would not be seen to meddle to be set on foot by Gates, a chamberlain, who brought him information of all that passed about the King. This Gates was always in the royal chamber, and not suspected to be mainly instrumental in instigating the King to make a will against his sister, Mary Tudor.

house, where his brother then was, who was afterwards judge; and he asking him what news at court, he told him this story of the duke and Gates. The judge went instantly to Queen Mary and acquainted her with it, who presently took horse and rode sixty miles that day, and came to her servant Jerningham in Norfolk, where it pleased God to bless her with a prosperous success, beyond expectation; and thereupon she preferred this Throgmorton to be chief justice of Chester, who after the death of Queen Mary did constantly in his grace after meat pray for the soul of Queen Mary. Truly Queen Elizabeth did not much affect them who did belong or did any way commend Queen Mary. But the Earl of Leicester, son to the Duke of Northumberland, then the great favourite, did extremely hate this Judge Throgmorton, as having been a special hindrance that the crown of England had not been settled in the name and family of the Dudleys; therefore did he watch all opportunities to be revenged on this Judge Throgmorton; and, as a chief justice of Chester, his successor, told me, that he had done nothing but that which was legal and just, and very frequent and usual with all other judges; and that was, the mending of a record, which the Earl of Leicester was pleased to term the changing, altering, and corrupting of records; and for that cause he was turned out of his justiceship. Neither did the earl's malice here

rest, but it extended unto his son, and brought him within the compass of high treason.*

After the treason of Throgmorton follows the treason of William Parry,† Doctor of Law, who

* Francis Throgmorton was first brought under suspicion by means of an intercepted letter addressed to the Queen of Scots. He was the eldest son of John Throgmorton, "who," to use the words of Camden, "had by Leicester's policy been turned out of the commission and fined, for having supplied or filled up some words in a fine or judicial instrument, transcribed from an old worm-eaten original, and had not produced it with all its defects." After Francis Throgmorton was apprehended, his papers were seized, and among them were found two catalogues, one containing the names of such ports in England as were convenient to land troops in, the other the names of all those who had embraced the Roman Catholic religion. When these catalogues were produced against him, he at first asserted that they had been foisted in to procure his ruin; but when placed upon the rack, he confessed that they had been devised with a view to the invasion of England, for which purpose he had consulted with Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. This confession he afterwards retracted at the bar of Guildhall, affirming that they were mere fictions invented by him to avoid being placed a second time upon the rack. He also pleaded that these charges did not come under the statute of high treason, inasmuch as more than six months had elapsed after the fact committed. This objection was overruled, and he was condemned. Being afterwards persuaded, he cast himself upon the Queen's mercy, and confessed in writing the same things he had done before; which confession he again retracted at his execution.—See Camden's Annals, in the year 1584. The Roman Catholics seem to have made just complaints of the subtle and unworthy artifices of Leicester and Walsingham, by whom they were entrapped into the guilt of high treason. "And verily," as the same writer expresses it, "there were at this time crafty ways devised to try

† In 1585.

certainly was an agent and a factor unto Secretary Walsingham; and being very poor, yet a high-minded man, and a well-spoken man, he was used by Secretary Walsingham to prefer his service to some great Churchman, (as I remember, it was Cardinal Como,)* to take away the life of the Queen. The cardinal considering that the Queen had taken away the life of many priests, as Campion, Sherwin, Philby, Johnson, &c., and considering that the Queen of Scots was a prisoner and the undoubted heir to succeed; considering the great Christian blood that had been shed, as he said, by her means; considering how she upheld the Hugonotes in France, the Guises in Holland, and what hostile actions had past with several princes of Christendom; surely the cardinal gave him encouragement therein, and no doubt might promise to reward him. Dr. Parry returning into England, acquainted not only the Secretary, but the Queen herself, and had private access unto her in a garden, where, if he had intended any such thing, he might then conve-

how men stood affected: counterfeit letters were sent in the name of the Queen of Scots and left at papists' houses; spies were sent up and down the country to note people's discourses and lay hold of their words; and reporters of vain and idle stories were credited and encouraged.

* He was a great intriguer, and a dependant of the King of Spain, for whose sake he attempted to raise commotions in France as well as in England. See Von Raumer's Hist. of the XVI Cent. i. p. 291.

niently have attempted it.* Much about this time there fell out a controversy between Dr. Parry and the church of Westminster, concerning a house standing by the Thames side; and when they came to confer and to treat, the doctor carried himself most insolently, and said that if they did but anger him he would throw the house into the Thames: but at last it was agreed by both parties to refer the whole business to the award of Secretary Walsingham; and truly it was said that the Secretary, contrary to all right and equity, did wholly adhere to Dr. Parry, and determined the business for his advantage.

Now began a parliament, and Dr. Parry was a member of the House of Commons; and while they were busy in making laws against Papists,

* On comparing this account of Parry's conduct with his trial printed in Mr. Jardine's entertaining volume, little doubt can exist as to Goodman's veracity. We are indeed shocked at this disregard of justice, and this recklessness in thus shedding of human blood to serve a political purpose; yet the express and constant declarations of this unfortunate man, that the Queen *knew of his innocence, that her own conscience acquitted him*, and the absence of all proof of his designing to take away her life, are strong presumptions of his innocence.

If Leicester was the author of Parry's destruction, this is but another instance of the pertinacity and inveteracy of his hatred. For some years previous to the condemnation of Parry, Leicester complained to the Queen of Anthony Bacon's familiarity with Parry. In answer to this accusation, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh engaged for his nephew that he should not be injured either in religion or loyalty by his conversation with Parry. —Birch's Bacon Papers, i. 14. See also ii. 133.

Dr. Parry spoke very earnestly in their behalf; whereupon the house did commit him: but when he had made it known to the Queen that what he did was only for her service, that so the Papists might more repose trust in him, whereby they might desist in their other attempts, and so the Queen be more secure, he was set at liberty, and restored again to the house with favour. Here the Earl of Leicester took notice that the Queen stood well affected unto him. Not long after, one Neville, a pretended heir to the Earl of Westmoreland, having lost all his estate, advised with Parry how the kingdom might be invaded: to whom Parry replied, that the way was to take Queenborough Castle, which might easily be done, and so to keep in the Queen's navy, which lay at Chatham; and then the Prince of Parma having a great army in the Low Countries, and standing very well affected to the House of Westmoreland, (for the earl had served him in his wars,) he might convey his army over without any great resistance. This Neville revealed; and certainly these two were but men who intended to betray each other. The Queen hearing of it, said so much, that Parry did it only for trial and tempting of him: but the greatness of the Earl of Leicester was such, that the doctor was to be brought to his trial; for they possessed the Queen that he was a desperate man and might play the villain on both sides; that owing a

little money to Mr. Hare of the Inner Temple, he came to his chamber there and wounded him; whereby it might appear that he was a bloody man.* Now coming to his trial, and considering how the honour of the state was engaged, seeing many treasons would be proved against him, for him to discover secrecies would infinitely provoke the state against him; he thought it then his best course to acknowledge all the treasons, and take them upon himself, whereby the Queen's miraculous deliverances might appear to her subjects,

* For this act he had received the Queen's pardon. The wholesale way in which Parry accuses himself, according to the account of his trial, as given by Camden, resembles anything rather than the confession of a penitent but guilty person. In one passage he is made to confess, that having returned to England, he procured access to the Queen, to whom, all bystanders having been removed, he discovered the whole conspiracy. "She heard me," he says, "without being daunted: I departed not without feelings of terror, and I can never forget what she then told me; *that no Catholics should be called in question merely for religion or the pope's supremacy, provided they acted as good citizens.*" In another passage, he observes that he was unable, from scruples of conscience, to effect his guilty purpose until he had read Cardinal Allen's reply to Lord Burleigh's book, *Contra Justitia Britannica*, by which he was encouraged to prosecute his attempt without hesitation or remorse. These passages savour strongly of state-craft; more particularly as Parry was condemned upon his own confession, and Chancellor Hatton, to satisfy the multitude that were present, ordered the confession to be read aloud, which Parry acknowledged to be voluntary, and prayed the judges that he might read it himself. To pursue the conclusion of the narrative in Camden's words; when it was demanded if he had anything to say why judgment should not be pronounced against him, he answered with

and thereby they might love her the better, and honour her the more, as being God's own darling. Yet sometimes he broke out into these words or the like,—that he did appeal unto God, and that the Queen should appear at his tribunal seat. So he was condemned; and whether he did desire to speak with the Queen or no, I cannot say; but it is thought he made but little preparation for death; and it is certain that the day of his execution being appointed, he did trim himself, and had the use of a barber that very morning. The place where he was executed was before Westminster-hall door; and I have heard some perturbation, as if troubled in conscience at the foul deed he had undertaken, "*I see I must die, because I have not been true to myself.*" Being asked to declare what he meant, he would only answer, "*My blood be among you.*" When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he in a fury cited the Queen to the judgment-seat of God. On the scaffold he made a boast of his fidelity to the Queen, constantly affirming that he never intended to take away her life. And thus, without once having commended his soul to God, or made the slightest preparation for death, he suffered as a traitor in the court-yard of the great palace at Westminster.

Even Naunton appears to have been struck with the strangeness of the proceedings in Parry's case. That Walsingham should at first have permitted Parry to have free access to the Queen, that he might thereby betray his own accomplices, was reasonable enough: but that after Parry's attempt to kill the Queen was clearly known (as the government version of the tale gave out), why she should then admit him to private intercourse, give him thus unreservedly the means of destroying her, permit him to go when and whither he listed, and only on the security of a dark sentinel, "was a piece of reach and hazard," observes Naunton, "beyond my apprehension."

that it was then a Star Chamber day, and that the lords in the Star Chamber, whereof the Earl of Leicester was one, did look through the windows upon him; but certainly they could not hear him; but when some that did hear him, did hear him speak against the Queen, he was suddenly turned off the ladder.

After Parry come in the Queen of Scots, Babington, Salisbury, &c. This is a business which should not be spoken of *in transitu*, but rather a just treatise to be written thereof, and therefore I must refer you to Mr. Camden, who being my schoolmaster and my friend, I shall speak nothing against him, but only this, which I do for the honour of truth, and lest others might be misled by him in what concerns religion, seeing it was not his own profession, nor had he any great knowledge therein. I would have men further to examine such things; I will only give two instances. He reports my predecessor Bishop Cheney to be *Luthero addictissimus*, wholly a Lutheran: now it is certain he was a Papist, and bred up his servants Papists; I have spoken with one of them: and further, it appears upon record in the Arches, that he was suspended for Popery, and died so suspended, and never would make any recantation.* Mr. Camden likewise reports that upon the coming in of Queen Elizabeth, and

* This is denied by Fuller, in his Church History, who apparently alludes to this very remark of Bishop Goodman. Could he have seen the MS.?

upon the change of religion, many benefices were void, and then tradesmen and artificers did take holy orders and possess these benefices, and that these tradesmen were no less learned than the Papist priests. Now it is well known that the priests in the Church of Rome, at the taking of orders, are bound to the daily office of their breviary : and no doubt but they do perform it ; and they that shall so do, I do verily believe have more knowledge and learning in religion than all the artificers of England have, put them all together, and let them bring all their notes of their sermons with them, which in effect is all their whole study.

Secondly, Mr. Camden was a very good-natured man, very mild and very charitable ; and such men are always very thankful. Now, when he speaks of his patrons, and of them from whom he had his preferment, certainly he is very partial ; and when he reports his correspondence with Thuanus, a man may see which way he inclines ; for of all the men in the world there are not greater enemies to the Church than are the French politics, whereof Thuanus was a principal man, and in these two respects I do a little mistrust Mr. Camden. I remember when I was his scholar we heard news continually that our master had letters from beyond seas, and we his scholars were wont to brag in what esteem he was beyond seas. Now since it appears that he held correspondence with Thuanus, and sent him all the intelligence

which he had of this kingdom, it is not credible that he, being a great councillor of state, should stoop so low as to take all his informations from a schoolmaster, were it not that he were recommended unto him by some great statesman. But I wish all men to take heed of Thuanus, Sleidan, and Buchanan, who was lord privy seal in Scotland.

So that for the Queen of Scots I will refer you to Mr. Camden, who doth charge her with nothing but that she did desire her own liberty, having been in prison some eighteen years, and that most unjustly ; and, as she said, she was invited into England, but certain it is that she came not voluntarily, but that the winds and the tempest drove her in ; and by Mr. Camden's own relation there was one in that treason appointed by Secretary Walsingham, who drew in the rest, being very young gentlemen, without experience, and little knowing or suspecting the secret practices of statesmen. This man procured all their pictures and shewed them to the Queen. So that I will desist in any farther relation of that treason. For that which went before, that there should be such a strict league of amity between Queen Elizabeth and the King of Scots, whereby he might be secured and not interpose in the business, and then upon the discovery of that treason, that there should be such ringing of bells, such public rejoicing, as the like never was ; that an act of parliament should pass before for the

trial of the Queen, and that not in an ordinary manner and way, but by an inquisition and by a commission she should be found guilty, and that then a parliament should be called ; that it should be the work of the House of Commons to press the execution against her, whereby those great statesmen who contrived the plot might lay it upon the whole body of the kingdom, and so excuse themselves ;* as there was one sent into Scotland who did relate it unto me, that he had this in special commission, to inform them that it was not an act of any particular person, but of the whole representative body of the kingdom. And

* In the case of the Earl of Leicester, one of her bitterest and most active opponents, desire of revenge was added to other motives. Thus Charles Pagett, writing to Mary at the time of the oath of Association, and detailing the dissensions which had arisen among her party, observes to her, " I see every day there are new devices to breed delays, and therefore your majesty is to think of some other course for yourself, and to provide for the safety of your person so well as you may ; whereof your majesty hath need to have more regard than heretofore, because you may well see by the new monstrous oath lately devised, how desirous they are to entrap you and cut off your whole line ; which plainly appeareth ; because if the Earl of Leicester (who of late hath said to a friend of his, *that he will persecute you to the uttermost, for that he supposeth your majesty to be privy to the setting forth of The Book against him,*) or any of your enemies, can but suborn a person to say he would kill the Queen of England, and thereby advance your title, though he doth not the act, and that yourself never knew thereof, yet are all they of this new devised Association bound by oath to prosecute you and all your line to death."—Murdin, p. 436. This letter is dated 14th Jan. 1584-5.

certainly then many Scots did much depend upon England, and did further the execution, and the ambassador who was sent from Scotland hither to intercede for her did in effect hasten her death.* For you must understand that divers in Scotland were great offenders, and they did consider that if Queen Mary succeeded to the crown of England, being a lady of that carriage and wisdom, she might call them to account; yea, many of the Queen of Scots' greatest friends here in England were not against her death, because their letters to the Queen were found and seized upon amongst

* The Master of Gray,—“a quaint young gentleman,” says Camden, “and one that thought himself able for the weightiest business, if not more.” He contributed much to the ruin of Mary's cause. In one of his letters, written in September 1586, to Archibald Douglas, James's ambassador in England, he says: “Touching the conspiracy (of Ballard and Babington, &c.) I cannot now write at length, but defer it till I send Roger; yet this far I advertize you, that the King is well-willed in all things as you left him, and very glad of the discovery of this matter. *But his opinion is, that it cannot stand with his honour that he be a consenter to take his mother's life; but he is content how strictly she be kept, and all her old knavish servants hanged, chiefly they who be in hand.* For this you must deal very warily to eschew inconveniences, seeing necessity of all honest men's affairs requires that she were out of the way.” (As Mary's trial did not come on till the next month, it would seem from this that her fate was already decided on.) And again, in the same month: “His majesty is very well content with all your proceedings, but chiefly touching his books and hunting horses. I pray you negociate so well that ye fail not to effectuate substantially that point. As for his mother, his command is, you do as he gave your nephew Richard instruction. I can assure you he is

all her other writings, and the correspondence being now known, as long as the Queen lived they should be held in suspicion and jealousy.

Thus all things did concur here to that bloody cruelty; only the foreign ambassadors did mainly oppose, and did instance in this pernicious example how much it did derogate from the honour and majesty of kings.* But all would not serve: there were daily and continually strange and new reports raised; the servants of privy councillors would ride out, some to St. Albans, some to Ware, some to Hounslow, and the rest of the

content the law go forward, her life being saved, and would gladly wish that all foreign princes should know how well she has used herself towards the Queen's Majesty there, and that she receives favor through her clemency." Murdin, 568-9. Fortunately Gray showed himself too much of a knave and too much interested in Mary's ruin for us to give implicit credence to his words. Yet what can we think of James sending him or even Ruth for an ambassador to plead his mother's cause? Gray egregiously fulfilled his mission; neglected James's positive instructions, even at his own personal hazard; buzzed into the Queen's ear, *Mortu non mordet*,—Dead dogs cannot bite. However, this subtle and unprincipled intriguer was completely outwitted by James at the last. "Never," to use the words of Northampton, "was jackdaw so well cozened in his own school-points and quiddities."—Secret Correspondence of James, &c. p. 19. See also Von Raumer's Hist. of XVI. Cent. &c. ii. 143.

* See the remarks of Monsieur de Bellieure, the French ambassador, who was sent into England with the express purpose of interceding for Mary. Camd. 374. Von Raumer's Hist. of XVI. Cent. &c. ii. 149.—The arguments of Bellieure are a credit to his head and his heart.

parts adjoining to London, and there give it out that the Queen of Scots had broken prison, that she was raising an army, that the French and the Scots were come to assist her : at other times, that Queen Elizabeth was pistoled, that divers of the privy council were murdered ; at other times, that some towns were taken by the French, that some towns were burnt, and all by the Queen of Scots' means. And thus for two months together, December and January, the common people were amazed and at their wits' end, and did desire to be rid of these alarms, which were like Job's messengers, whereby the execution might be the less pitied ; insomuch that after her death all the bells of London did ring, and Queen Elizabeth taking notice thereof and asking the reason, thereby she came first to know it.*

* Certain it is that every art and device was put in execution to alarm men's fears and make them desire the death of the Queen of Scots. Rumours of war and conspiracy were set afloat ; forged papers were circulated in the name and with the seal of the government, ordering men to be ready for defence, and to keep strict watch and ward. Two of these forged orders, one commanding the townsmen of Exeter " upon pain of death to make diligent search, and hew and cry, every way for the Queen of Scots who is fled,"—and another, to raise men, for London was set on fire,—have been printed in Ellis's Illustrations, iii. 109, 2nd Series. The second is in the following terms : " These are in her majesty's name straightly to charge and command you, that upon the sight hereof you send like precepts two or three ways from tithing to tithing, to set your men in armor with all speed, upon pain of death, for London is

Then was the whole fault laid upon Secretary Davison,* who was wont to say, that if Queen Elizabeth and he should stand at a bar, as one day they must, he would make her ashamed of herself.

† [Such as had their hands deepest in this business were then preferred to the highest honours and offices. Puckeringe, who was speaker of the House of Commons, and did much incite the Commons

on fire. Let this go to Exeter upon horseback. Haste, haste, haste."—These were circulated two or three days previous to the execution of the Queen of Scots. See also Camden, 379.

Very different were the feelings of Mary's own subjects. They received the news of her death with tremendous indignation; insomuch that Sir Robert Cary, who was sent by Elizabeth to the King of Scotland to declare her innocence of her sister's death, was waylaid, and would have been murdered had he ventured beyond the boundaries of the two kingdoms. James was consequently obliged to send two of his council to meet the ambassador at "the bound-rode," to receive his letters and despatches. Cary's Memoirs, 49. See Camden, p. 366.

* Leicester, Burleigh, and Watson were equally in disgrace. "Sir Amias Paulet," says a letter written at this time, "the Queen of Scots' keeper, is in great disgrace for her execution; as also one Davison, secretary, is in the Tower, and put from his office, and deeply fined also, for not proceeding with the Queen of Scots according to his Mistress' commandment at the delivery of the warrant, which was not to put it in execution before the realm should be actually invaded by some foreign power."—Ellis, iii. 126, 2nd Series. Von Raumer's Hist. of XVI. Cent. ii. 164.

In the warrant granted for her execution, as sent to Sir Am. Paulet, there is no condition of the kind here expressed, (see Murdin 574;) although such was the apology which Elizabeth made to the French ambassador. See Von Raumer, *ib.* ii. 167.

† Cancelled in the MS.

to prosecute the business against the Queen of Scots, to demand justice in her execution, he was made lord keeper, * and, as Mr. Camden sayeth, † did sell those benefices of the crown which were committed to his trust to dispose of. He lived not long ; after succeeded in that great office Egerton, who was the Queen's solicitor, and pleaded against the Queen of Scots : ‡ he was first made master of the rolls and afterwards lord keeper.]

Buckhurst, who had been a special messenger and a great stirrer and furtherer therein, was afterwards made lord treasurer ; § and, in a word, the very Churchman who at the time of her execution was very troublesome unto her, and she having lived all her time a Catholic, would in the very moment of her death persuade her to renounce her religion, and truly then, contrary to all Christianity and humanity, did then very much disquiet her,—this man must be preferred ; for being

* He was made keeper of the Great Seal in 1591, and died in 1596.

† P. 528.

‡ See Camden, p. 343. Egerton and Pickeringe were as offensively forward in condemning Davison as they had been the Queen of Scots.

§ Yet Buckhurst (whose son and heir had married a sister of the Earl of Arundel) was thought by Mary's friends to have been a papist in heart, and well disposed towards the Queen of Scots. If it were so, in Morgan's words, he dissembled the matter egregiously.—Murdin, 489. Probably they were deceived in him as much as in the Earl of Shrewsbury, who advised the execution of Mary.—See Murdin, 572.

then Doctor Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, he was made almoner and bishop of Bristol. There being then many leases to be past in that bishopric, he was afterwards preferred to London;* and there he married my Lady Baker, a very handsome, beautiful lady, as she is pictured. Here many libels were made against him: I remember part of one of them;—

“We will divide the name of Fletcher:

He, my Lord F.; and she, my Lady Letcher.”

I think he had a check from the Queen, and died for sorrow. His son was a poet to a playhouse.

All these were preferred, that when King James should come in, he might have his mother's enemies in the greatest places of trust; and to

* Some account of Fletcher will be found in Harrington's Works, p. 41, ed. Park. “Being Bishop of London and a widower,” says Harrington, “he married a gallant lady and widow, sister to Sir George Gifford, the pensioner; which the Queen seemed to be extremely displeased at; not for the bigamy of a bishop, (for she was free of any such superstition,) but out of her general dislike of clergymen's marriage, this being a marriage that was talked of at least nine days. Yet in a while he found means to pacify her so well, as she promised to come, and I think came to a house he had at Chelsea. For there was a stair and a door made of purpose for her in a bay window; of which pleasant wits descanted diversly: some said it was for joy, to show he would, as the proverb is, cast the house out of the window for her welcome; some more bitterly called it the emblem of his entry into his first bishopric, viz. not at the door, but at the window.” According to the same writer, he died suddenly taking tobacco in his chair, saying to his man that stood by him, whom he loved very well, “Oh, boy, I die!”

revenge himself upon all of them he should find it a desperate work, and therefore better sit still and take no notice of them, which in truth King James did, and therein I commend him; for God doth sometimes permit sin, and surely it was for his quietness and peace which he did ever most aim at, as having the lamentable experience of troubles and tumults in Scotland. But whereas the King did prefer them, gave them honours and was governed by them, this I do utterly discommend in my old master. If any petition had been offered unto him wherein his mother had been once named, he would never return any answer unto it; they that suffered for his mother were not recompensed; the kindred of his mother who had deserved wonderfully well of her,—the house of Loraine and Guise,*—they were not so much esteemed as they did deserve; and whom King James did omit, to them King Charles gave titles of honour, which in effect was all he had to give them. And so I end with the Queen of Scots.†

* See Murdin, 583—585.

† James never showed much warmth or affection in his mother's cause. They who were engaged in it were loud in their complaints of his coldness and want of affection; nor was it easy even for his partisans to excuse him.—See Charles Paget's letter to the Queen of Scots, retailing a conversation which he had held with the Spanish ambassador respecting James; Murdin, 435. It appears by a letter of Morgan's, that even previous to the death of Mary, James received a pension from

Queen Elizabeth, and fair promises, to keep him quiet. "I find," says he, "that your son hath been permitted to run too far, and to embrace her too much, and forget himself not a little towards your majesty; and as long as he and she liveth, there is great appearance that she will, by one means or other, lead him still the blind way."—Ib. 525, 529. Yet James was evidently sincere, I think, in the desire of saving his mother's life; and this is put beyond all question by a passage which occurs in a private letter of the Master of Gray (who disobeyed the King's instructions) to his friend Archibald Douglas: "Mary!" he says, "to one part of your letter I must answer, where ye say that I use threatening, if the Queen of Scots' life was taken, that ye would die a banished man. By my troth, I used it as no threatening, but advertized you what the King said; and in that same letter I wrote to you what was spoken of myself, so that if it was a threatening, I threatened myself in like manner."—Murdin, 575. And again, in a very curious letter, where he describes to the same person how he had weighed the inconveniences which would happen to himself whether Mary was permitted to live or not, he observes: "Refuse I (to undertake this embassy into England in Mary's behalf), the King shall think I know already what shall come of things; *so that if she die, he shall not fail to quarrel me for it. Live she, I shall have double harm: and live she by my travel, I bring a staff to my own head.*"—Ib. 573, 576. Because, as he elsewhere expresses it, he had "entered further for Queen Elizabeth's service than good reason permitted." Neither was this threat vain or imaginary; James justly resented this man's conduct. For in a letter written from Scotland in 1589, we find that the Master of Gray had never appeared in that court since he returned home, being slighted by James and those about him.—Murdin, 636.

CHAPTER VII.

Apprehension and Execution of O'Rourke.—Arraignment and condemnation of the Earl of Arundel — His death.—The Earl of Derby.—Dr. Lopez the poisoner, and the Earl of Essex.—The Earl's statement to Bishop Overall.—The Earl's marriage with Secretary Walsingham's daughter.—Loses the favours of the Queen.

AFTER the great Armada in '88, then O'Rourke, an Irishman, suffered: he was arraigned at the King's Bench, and I was then present. This man had very great possessions in Ireland, and what is proper to some dispositions, they will never learn but one language, so this man did not so much as learn English. The like example we have of the Emperor's brother, who, under the King of Spain, was Viceroy of Portugal, in the year 1615 as I take it; he would never speak any language but Dutch, and if he had not been taught that in his infancy, and that there was a necessity he should speak some language that he might call for meat and drink, and such things as he wanted, certainly he would have taken no pains to learn that language. This O'Rourke, as it is said, built a house which, as they say, he called a defiance to the English; he did once use the

Queen's picture very contemptibly; when the Spanish Armada was defeated in '88, some of them being cast upon the shore, it should seem that he in pity and compassion did relieve them: this the deputy* took as a capital offence, whereupon warrants were out to apprehend him; he having notice thereof, fled into Scotland; the

* Sir William Fitz-Williams. He was guilty of great tyranny towards the native Irish nobles. In the year 1590 he took Hugh MacMahon, a great lord in the territory of Monaghan, and subjected him to a trial by common soldiers, for exacting contributions of his people, although such was the custom of the country. MacMahon was condemned and hanged, and the lord deputy divided his property. Upon this, O'Rourke, a great lord in the neighbouring country of Boran, took up arms; but being hunted down and put to flight by Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, (the lord deputy fretting and vexing that he was disappointed of the glory of this service,) he fled into Scotland in the year 1590. In the following year O'Rourke was delivered up by James to Elizabeth, and was arraigned at Westminster Hall. Among other charges, he was accused of hanging the Queen's picture to his horse's tail, and dragging it about the streets, and afterwards cutting it to pieces; that he had entertained the shipwrecked Spaniards, contrary to the deputy's proclamation, &c. The accusation being made known to him by an interpreter, (for he understood no English,) he refused to submit himself to a trial by jury, unless the Queen herself would sit as the judge. The chief justice answering that, although he refused to submit himself to the usual form of trial, they were notwithstanding to give judgment upon him, he made no other reply than, *if they thought good, let it be so*. He was accordingly condemned for treason, and suffered at Tyburn with great firmness and intrepidity.—See Camden's Annals, 1590, 1591.

King of Scots apprehended him and sent him to the Queen, and so he was arraigned and executed. His son recovered some part of the land, he did allege for himself that Sir Richard Bingham would acquit him. His grandchild was lately a prisoner in the Tower, who living riotously, I think he died there in a poor condition.

Now comes the Earl of Arundel, who upon those many statutes and laws which were made against recusants, himself being a great Catholic, did resolve to fly the kingdom; and having spies set upon him, he was taken as he was entering the ship. He did conceive that the Queen stood not well affected unto him nor to his family, for she cut off the head of his father, the Duke of Norfolk,* only for being a suitor to the Queen of

* The followers of the Duke of Norfolk seem to have entertained an opinion that he was inveigled into the attempting this marriage by Lord Burleigh: at least they gave out such a report, perhaps merely to suit their own purposes. Yet it is certain that Leicester was deeply concerned in it, and at first gave his ear and encouragement to the duke's purposes. But when he found that the scheme had answered—that he had brought Norfolk irretrievably under the Queen's displeasure, he immediately turned round upon him. Doubtless this was a cunning plot of the “gipsy Leicester,” of which some hint occurs in a letter of Sir Henry Wotton to Lord Zouch. Speaking of the re-examination of the bluff Sir J. Perrott, the lord deputy of Ireland, he says: “Concerning the blow in the council chamber, which your honor writes of (I name him not), it may perhaps cost him dear. The D[uke] of N[orfolk] gave my

Scots; whereas others of the privy councillors were made acquainted therewith and gave him encouragement therein; whereas in treasons there are no accessaries, but all are principals; yet were they never questioned. It should seem the Earl of Arundel, though he lost the title of a duke by the attainder of his father, yet in place and precedence he lost little, for he continued the prime earl of the kingdom. At first his offence was made but a matter of misdemeanour, and he was fined and censured in the Star Chamber very deeply; afterwards it seemed some letter was produced, and thereby he was questioned upon point of high treason;* the Earl of Derby was then

L[ord] of L[eicester] a box on the ear that he paid his head for."—Wotton's Letters, 621, ed. 1685.

* Philip Howard Earl of Arundel, eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk. He had been restored in blood by the Queen in 1582; but being a strict Roman Catholic and a devout man, he resolved to withdraw himself from court, that he might exercise his religion with greater freedom. His conduct, however, did not escape the malice of his enemies, and having been brought into trouble by their means, he resolved to withdraw from the kingdom. With this view he took a journey into Sussex, where he was apprehended by the treachery of some of his followers. For this offence he was fined 10,000*l.* and condemned to imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure; three years after he was brought to his trial in Westminster Hall, in 1589, upon a charge of holding treasonable correspondence with certain of the Jesuits, and of having caused mass to be said, while prisoner in the Tower, for the prosperity of the Spanish Armada. Being commanded to hold up his hand, he held it up with this exclamation: "*Behold a clean hand and a sincere heart!*" Popham,

appointed high steward,* and before him Arundel was arraigned and found guilty. A little after, the Earl of Derby returned home to his own house, Latham, in Lancashire, and while he was on his journey he found himself much troubled with sorrow and melancholy; and doubting his own life, but especially desiring to discharge his own conscience, he caused all his servants to be called up into his chamber, and there did acquaint them thus much, that he had been more beholden to Queen Elizabeth than ever any of his predecessors had been to any prince; that she had

the Queen's attorney, having endeavoured in his speech to interpret several letters as proofs of the earl's guilt, he observed, that the attorney had done by these letters and confessions as the spider useth to do, sucked poison out of flowers; but he for his part could suck wholesome matter from the same, if he might be permitted to see them.

"The day now growing to an end," says Camden, "the earl withdrew, submitting himself to the judgment of his peers, and praying that they might do that which would redound to the glory of God, the Queen's safety, the honour and quiet of their own conscience. They then departing aside, consulted among themselves a full hour, calling in to them the judges to satisfy themselves in some points touching the law. Having returned to their seats, they were asked by the clerk of the crown, whether the earl were *guilty or not guilty*. Each one then laying his hand upon his breast, as the custom is, affirmed upon his honour and conscience that *he was guilty*. Then the earl being asked if he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced against him, said the same which his father had said before him in the same place—*God's will be done*. And thus faded this flower of nobility at the untimely age of thirty-three."

* Henry Stanley.

conferred many favours upon him, that she had made him her ambassador in a business of great trust,* and had ever used him most graciously; but this one thing did grieve him more than all the favours that he had received from her, that she had made him her high steward to condemn the Earl of Arundel, who was condemned upon a letter which, as he thought, was not sufficiently proved, but may be very well counterfeited, “and this lies heavy upon my conscience.”† Now when he came home, he was there poisoned; and, as a gentleman of good worth and a very understanding man did tell me, that one should come to the Earl of Derby and make him this offer,—that if he would not be wanting to himself, means should be found out to set the crown of England upon his head. The motives hereunto and the means to effect it were these: first, that the house

* He was appointed to invest the French king with the Order of the Garter, in 1585. His own account of his embassy is still preserved among the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian. The real object of the embassy was supposed to be a desire of Queen Elizabeth to embark Henry in the affairs of the Low Countries. See some shrewd observations upon this subject in Morgan's letter to the Queen of Scots,—Murdin, p. 461—468.

† The Earl of Derby was suspected for a partisan (as his sister, Lady Morley, most assuredly was) of Mary Queen of Scots; and it is not improbable that Cecil had sufficient evidence of the earl's friendship, if not actual correspondence with the Scottish Queen's party. At all events, Cecil had sufficient proofs in his hand to bring the Earl of Derby into disgrace with his sovereign, had he ever proved restive.—See Haynes, p. 446. Murdin, 462.

of Derby was descended from Henry VII.; secondly, that he was a man so generally beloved where most were Catholics, and to these he should expect the assistance of foreign forces. This message was a true message and really intended; but the earl did conceive it to be only a temptation, and that snares were laid for him, whereupon he did instantly discover it: but the State finding, it should seem, by some foreign circumstances that such a thing might be, and considering that he might be a very fit man for such a purpose, living so far from London where he could not be easily surprised, to prevent such a mischief it was so contrived that he was poisoned.* His brother, who succeeded in the earldom,

* In 1593. According to Camden, he died a natural death. From the same historian it would appear that in these remarks concerning this Earl of Derby, Goodman is in error, and that they ought rather to be applied to his son Ferdinand. For, in 1593, one Richard Hasket was condemned and executed, for attempting to persuade (at the instigation of the English fugitives) Ferdinand Earl of Derby, whose father Henry had lately deceased, to take upon him the title to the crown, deriving his right from his great grandmother Mary, daughter of Henry VII. They promised him money and assistance from the Spaniard, threatening him with assured destruction if he refused to comply. But the earl, fearing that this was only a trap for his destruction, impeached the man; and did himself die shortly after, not without suspicion of poison. He was tormented, says Camden, with cruel pains and frequent vomiting of a dark colour like rusty iron. In his chamber was found an image of wax, the belly whereof was thrust through with trains of the same colour as his own, put there (as it was supposed) to

was a man of a more dejected spirit, intending his pleasures and sports, and no way fit for such an attempt: besides, he married into the family of the Cecils. I doubt not but the Earl of Derby did signify so much to the Queen concerning the trial of the Earl Arundel, for he was never brought to the scaffold, but died a most mortified, devout, patient man;* and so did his lady, a most charitable, virtuous woman; which, I do verily believe, made Henry Howard Earl of Northampton affect the Earl of Arundel, who was the chief of his house and his next heir at law, and truly a man of great intellectuals.†

remove the suspicion of poison. The silver basins used by the earl in his sickness were so stained by his vomitings that by no art could they be restored to their original brightness; and his dead body, though rolled in sear-cloth and wrapped in lead, ran with such corrupt and putrid humours, that for a time no one could venture near the place of his burial. No small suspicion lighted upon the gentleman of his horse, who, as soon as the earl took to his bed, fled away with his best horse. His brother William succeeded him in the earldom.

* In 1595. The Romanists seem to have entertained some doubts of Arundel's soundness in their belief; for Morgan, writing to the Queen of Scots in the spring of 1586, observes, "The Earl of Arundel is now a sound Catholic, and his affliction," (alluding probably to the circumstances mentioned in p. 140,) "which followed in short time after his reconciliation to the Catholic Church, hath without doubt done him infinite good."—Murdin, 489. Henry Howard laboured unsuccessfully to induce Arundel to go to church, as he was promised his liberty on that condition.—Ib. 529.

† Probably Henry Howard loved Arundel and his countess; because not only were all three nearly related, but likewise

And now I come to Dr. Lopez' history, who was so much spoken of for his curious art in poisoning; and because I heard that the Earl of Essex had a great hand in that business, truly I made bold to ask of Sir Henry Savile, provost of Eton, who was very great with the earl, concerning that business, who did in truth confess unto me that he thought the earl to be a little faulty.* When the earl fell out of the Queen's favour and began to be sick at his own house, Dr. Overall, afterwards bishop of Norwich, having been his tutor in Trinity College in Cambridge, went to visit him: to whom the earl made a great complaint of his miserable condition at that time; that he was fallen out of the Queen's

equally warm and earnest partisans of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots. The countess seems to have been a great favourite with the Roman Catholics, not undeservedly, if the character be just which Morgan gives of her in a letter to the Queen of Scots. "The Countess of Arundel," says he, "is a very noble woman, and so hath showed herself, by her constancy in faith towards God, and by all other honourable deportments, and is towards your majesty as she ought to be, as you know; and she exceedeth in this troublesome world all the men and women in the parts where she liveth, and no doubt would think herself happy to have place to serve and honour your majesty. The said countess hath good intelligence, as I am credibly informed, with the Lord Henry Howard, to whom she may convey your letter for him."—Murdin, 489.

* When the Earl of Essex (who had been the first to accuse Dr. Lopez of this attempt) was appointed, together with Sir Robert Cecil, then secretary of state, and the lord treasurer, to investigate the truth of the matter, the two last gave

favour, poor in his estate, troubled and sick of the Irish disease; all which he did acknowledge to be God's just judgments for his sins, and thought he had offended God in nothing so much as in the not due observing of the Sabbath: and hereupon he asked him this question,—whether a man might use any lawful recreation upon the Sabbath after evening prayer? To whom the bishop replied, that he thought he might, and shewed him the example of all other Reformed Churches, as Geneva, the Low Countries, and the rest;—that it was necessary that both body and mind should have recreation; that a man may be so tedious and worn out in the service of God, as that he may not be fit for God's service. “Well,” quoth the earl, “if it may be so, yet it is safer to forbear; and hereafter I will forbear.” And yet, said the bishop, his rising up in arms

it as their opinion that the accusation of Essex was unfounded, and cleared Dr. Lopez of any such design. This sentence threw Essex into a violent paroxysm of rage; he shut himself up in his chamber for two days, refusing access to every one except the lord admiral, who posted to and fro with messages of atonement. The admiral having been added to the commission, Essex resumed the inquiry with unabated vigour, and Lopez was in the end condemned. Although, “it was verily thought,” according to the expression of a contemporaneous letter, “that Don Antonio disclosed the ground of this treason before his going over from England to France.” See Birch's Bacon Papers, i. 151. These expressions altogether give an appearance of reality to the assertions of Goodman; but his charge against Essex is of too heinous a nature to be admitted without additional testimony.

against the Queen was upon a Sunday. The earl said further unto him, that when he was a suitor unto his lady,* he came to Sir Francis Walsingham and told him that he came to be a suitor unto his daughter not for any wealth or portion, for it was thought he had little,† but only that he might be so enabled by his good council as that he may be fit to do his prince and his country some service. Whereupon his father-in-law did assure him, that what directions he could give him should not be wanting. The match‡ went on, and the Queen hearing thereof, was much offended: then did the Earl of Essex fall out of her favour, and it was thought fit that he should retire himself from the court for a time until the Queen's anger were a little over; during which time of his absence, Secretary Walsingham suddenly died; and immediately the Lord Treasurer Burleigh informed the Queen, that he being Secretary, no doubt but he had many notes and papers which concerned the State; that they should

* This lady was Walsingham's only daughter. Her first husband was Sir Philip Sydney; the second, the Earl of Essex; and the third, according to Camden, the Earl of Clanricarde, —but according to Naunton, the Lord of St. Albans.

† Walsingham died in very necessitous circumstances. He had run himself so deeply in debt in the Queen's service, that his body was privately buried, that it might not be arrested by his creditors. See Birch's Hist. View, p. 21.

‡ The Queen was offended at the match, and thought the earl had disparaged the dignity of his house by this affinity. See Camden, 624.

be seized upon : and the Queen gave orders accordingly. Whereupon all his notes and instructions came to the hands of the Cecils, and he could never after regain them. So far, Bishop Overall did inform me that the earl had acquainted him so much in the time of his sickness.

CHAPTER VIII.

Essex restored to favour.—His intrigues with Lopez.—Is outvoted by him.—The Queen laughs at the Earl.—Lopez disparages the Earl to Don Antonio, who betrays him.—Essex and Lopez quarrel—The latter is arrested and carried to the Tower.—Tried—Removed from the Tower to the King's Bench by Popham, one of the Earl's creatures.—His behaviour at his execution.—Treason of Squires and Essex.—Queen's remark upon it.—Account of the Queen's going to council—Her personal appearance in her old age.

AFTER the death of Walsingham,* the Earl of Essex was again admitted to the court, and in as great favour as ever he was: and now he was to begin the world again, without any directions from his father-in-law; yet remembering that his father-in-law had many intelligencers, as Dr. Parry and others, he did likewise resolve to make choice of some who should do service in the like kind. Then did he speak to Dr. Lopez, who was a Portugal born,† the Queen's physician, (as at

* Walsingham died in 1590.

† Essex was a general patron of the Portuguese, and of all such as hated the Spaniard. He afforded an asylum to the infamous Antonio Perez (whom Burghley, much to his credit, would scarcely notice), supplying him with large sums of money, using him as an oracle in the secrets of the Spanish court.

that time there were many Portugal physicians here, and we did suspect them all to be Jews, as I knew one was,) and told him that many did practise treason against the Queen. The Spaniard hated her, the Papists would do her what hurt they could ; she was ancient and childless, and the good of this kingdom did wholly depend upon her life. Now for preventing their designs, and to search out all several plots, this were impossible ; but an easier way to prevent them was this : If they had but some one in whom they might repose trust, they would be more remiss in entertaining others and setting them on work ; and to this end he could not think of a fitter man “ to be employed than yourself, and to this end I would have you to offer yourself, and so to undertake the business.” To whom Lopez replied, “ My lord, this is a very great business and a dangerous : you are now in favour, but how long you may continue we know not. You may die, and then the whole treason will be laid upon me. Your lordship will be pleased to give me some time to advise.” In this interim the Earl of Essex acquainted the Queen with his intention ; and so did Lopez when he found opportunity, and spake to the Queen in this manner : “ If it please your majesty, my Lord of Essex hath put me upon a business whereof I have little knowledge, and dare not adventure thereon without your majesty’s approbation.” And so he told her

the whole story. The Queen gave him this answer, — that it was a thing out of his element not to give physic, but to practise in that manner: she left it however to himself; but if he should do her any service, he should not be unrewarded.

Here then Lopez undertook the business, and writes his letters to some special friends in Spain or in Portugal to this effect:—that although he lived in England, yet he could not cast off the affection he bare to his own native country: that it did grieve him much to see the great losses which his country sustained, and how eagerly the Queen was bent to take all advantages against them: that if it lay in his power to do his own country service, he would do it; and if the taking away of one life might save the lives of many hundreds, he would do his best endeavour therein, though it cost him his own life. And in this manner did he offer his service if they pleased to accept it. They to whom he wrote this letter made use of it, gave him encouragement therein, and promised him a good reward. Here began a mutual intercourse of letters between them; and as soon as ever Lopez had received any intelligence, he went instantly to the Queen and acquainted her majesty therewith; and afterwards he went to the Earl of Essex and acquainted him: then did the Earl of Essex come to the court and acquainted her with the same;

and the Queen knowing it before, did but laugh at the Earl of Essex ; and so it fell out several times, whereby the earl saw himself utterly disappointed, for though he had gotten an intelligencer, yet he proved not to be his intelligencer, but he went immediately to the Queen. This bred very ill blood between the Earl and Dr. Lopez, and no doubt but there might be some open affront, for Lopez had procured a lease to be made from the Bishop of Worcester to the Queen in his behalf, and no doubt the earl might cause some stoppage thereof, or set blocks in the way for his other suits.

This falling out in the vacation, when Dr. Lopez might very well be spared in regard of his patients, he went near Windsor, where Don Antonio,* a Portugal, together with the King of Spain's secretary, who had fled out of Spain, did then reside ; and making merry with them, Lopez began bitterly to inveigh against the Earl of Essex, telling some secrecies, how he had cured

* Henry King of Portugal dying in 1580, many competitors laid claim to the crown,—among the rest Philip II. of Spain, Henry's eldest sister's son, who was in might if not in right the strongest. One of his rivals was this Don Antonio, prior of Crato, an illegitimate son of Lewis, brother of the deceased king, who was elected by the people of Portugal more on account of their deadly hostility to the Castilians than from any right which Antonio himself possessed. Having been expelled from Portugal by the Duke d'Alva, the ex-king fled into France, where an asylum was gladly afforded him by Catherine of Medicis, who looked with a jealous eye on the growing power of the

him, and of what diseases, with some other things which did disparage his honour. But as soon as Lopez was gone, they went instantly to the Earl of Essex, and, to ingratiate themselves in his favour, did acquaint him with all the several passages. Here the earl was so much incensed, that he resolved to be revenged on him; and now he began to possess the Queen that Lopez was a very villain, and had poisoned others, and that he suspected him for the death of his father-in-law Secretary Walsingham, and that he had other proofs against him, and so did not doubt but he played the villain on both sides, and did intend to poison the Queen; and so far prevailed with the Queen, that being then at Hampton Court, and Dr. Lopez attending there, he was arrested of high treason and carried to the Tower. Being there, he sent divers messages to the Queen, and did appeal to her majesty's knowledge: to whom the Queen graciously returned this answer,—that for such things as he had revealed to the Queen, he should suffer no loss; but if

Spaniard. Thence he passed over with recommendations into England, and was cordially received by Elizabeth, as much perhaps from her dislike to the Spaniard as from her acknowledgment of his descent from the blood royal of England and the house of Lancaster. In 1589, Antonio joined with Drake and Norris in their expedition against Portugal; on which occasion Robert Earl of Essex, out of a thirst for military glory and commiseration of the misfortunes of Antonio, stole secretly from court and joined in the enterprise, to the eminent displeasure of the Queen.

any other things should be objected against him, it was fit for the honour and justice of the State that he should make his defence. When he came to be arraigned, some letters being produced, they could do no less than find him guilty; only he protested his innocence before God, and did not reveal those secrecies which past between the Queen and himself. Being found guilty, he was carried back to the Tower: then did he more petition than ever, and appeal to the Queen's own knowledge and goodness; and did ever receive these gracious answers from the Queen:—that not a hair of his head should perish; wished him to be content and to have patience, that all things might be done with the honour of the State; it should be but a short imprisonment and a little loss of practice in his profession, which cannot countervail the credit of the State, which her majesty did so much respect.

Now you shall observe, that such as are committed to the Tower cannot be executed or released without a warrant under the Queen's own hand. At this time, Popham was preferred to be lord chief justice of the King's Bench, and by the means of the Earl of Essex, who was then the great favourite; and Popham by the persuasion of the Earl of Essex, made means that Lopez might be removed unto the King's Bench Prison in Southwark; and not long after he was brought to the King's Bench bar, and they demanded

what he could say for himself why the sentence of death pronounced against him should not be put in execution. Dr. Lopez replied, that he did appeal to the Queen's own knowledge and goodness for the acquitting of him. But another, who it seemed was employed in the whole business, began a long narration to open things from the beginning, and how he was ensnared. The court willed him to be short; but he said, he could not be, but would open the business from the beginning. Then they willed him to hold his peace; so they were carried back to the prison, and the next day executed.

Being brought to the place of execution, Lopez began to speak and to acquaint the people with the whole business. But there were some that stood afar off, some in one place, some in another, and they cried to him, "Speak out, speak out;" others, that were in some nearness unto him, cried aloud, "Hold your peace, hold your peace:" and thus was the whole time spent, and the poor man could not be heard a word, and so was turned off the ladder. This I heard from a very credible man that was then present; and the former narration I heard from a very honest man, who had it from him that did solicit Dr. Lopez' business, and was the messenger between the Queen and him. Dr. Lopez being executed,* his wife petitioned the Queen for his

* He was executed at Tyburn in 1594.

goods; to whom the Queen gave them all, and would not suffer her to lose one farthing.*

For Squires' treason,† which was the poisoning of the pummel of the queen's saddle, it was a thing so incredible that I took no heed of it, nor made any search into it. Again, the Queen did seldom ride or use a saddle; or if she had, it was a hundred to one but some others would have handled the saddle: or if she had done it first, yet she did always wear gloves; or if she had not, it would have been instantly found in the hand, and very soon cured. All that I can say is, I heard

* The court version of the treasons of Dr. Lopez is printed in Murdin, 669. And even in that paper a striking passage occurs, which seems to countenance the explanation of this strange tale as given by Goodman. "It must not be omitted, which was by honourable personages answered to this wretch's face, how in all the course of his examinations, he would always with detestable oaths, execrations, and curses deny many things, damning himself to the lowest pit of hell if there were any such matter; and almost with the same breath, seeing manifest proofs, confessed it presently: and profanely thinking, to shew his affection to her majesty, did affirm to the great offence of the hearers, that he loved her majesty better than he loved God." Camden confesses that Lopez having been for a long time a man of noted fidelity, was not even suspected of any design against the Queen. Neither is it easy to discover either from Camden or from the paper in Murdin how Lopez fell under suspicion, or the grounds upon which he was arrested. The former has attributed to Lopez an expression almost as profane as the passage in Murdin, and of the same import,—that he loved the Queen as well as he loved our Saviour: which coming from a Jew, says the historian, moved no small laughter in the bystanders.

† In 1598.

a justice, one that had as much employment and as able a man as any other justice whatsoever, speak very scoffingly of it.

For the Earl of Essex, it is true it was a real and an actual treason, the surprising of the court and the removing of some councillors from the Queen; and so it was confessed: but that he fell out of the queen's favour and lived discontented and melancholy, truly there was no great cause of his fall.* It is true that all the sword-men of England depended upon him, that he had the love and affections of the people, and that his own carriage was such that he deserved their loves; and this might cause some jealousy and fear in an old queen that is childless, and when her successor is far absent and of another nation, which ever had an enmity with us, and of whom we were meanly persuaded, in regard of their poverty. But the fear of Essex might have been otherwise prevented, and not with a public disgrace: certain it is, to use his own words when he was in Ireland, he might as easily have done hurt as have thought it; that is, he might have possessed himself of the kingdom, especially being

* The earl's inconsistency and irresolution, his deficiency in that recklessness and unscrupulousness of spirit necessary to ensure success in such undertakings, forcibly reminds one of the truth of the anecdote told of him by Fuller. When one flattered the earl for his valour; "No," said he; "my sins ever made me a coward." Had he been a worse man, he had been a more prosperous one; had he been a better man, he had been a more happy one.

provoked thereunto with the Queen's harsh letters, and the mastership of the wards, which was promised him, being otherwise disposed, and his own father having spent himself and died in the service of Ireland.

There were yet other traitors arraigned and executed, who in number did far exceed the rest, and those were the Popish priests; and their treason was, that they, being priests, should come over into the kingdom; and sometimes they were indicted together for conspiring the Queen's death, when they never saw each other, and so far from attempting the death of the Queen, whereas they never came within any nearness of the court; yet surely they were condemned by law for being priests and coming over. Now, there was a great statesman who wrote in defence of the English justice, that no man was put to death for religion, but for transgressing the laws in coming over.* Surely that man was full of subtilty, but in right and sound judgment he should have conceived, that where things are linked and chained together, whatsoever befalls them may be ascribed either to all of them in general, or to the principal of them. Now, the end is ever the principal to which all the means are directed; now, the end is religion; their coming over, that they should be sent by their superiors, that they

* He means Lord Burleigh's "Execution for Justice not for Religion," which was answered by Cardinal Alan, whose work has been mentioned above. Both have been frequently printed.

should have their breeding in seminaries, that they should make vows, that they should swear to the canons; all these are directed to religion; and to deny that those priests did die for their own religion, they may as well deny that the apostles and the martyrs of the primitive church died for religion, for certainly they did likewise transgress the laws of the empire in preaching the gospel. There is a like error committed by many judges, great officers, and lawyers of this kingdom, in maintaining that the late kings did exercise no more power nor jurisdiction in the Church than their predecessors had done; and to that end they allege the title of the statute for the oath of supremacy, that it is but a restitution of the ancient liberties and privileges to the crown. Now, certain it is that kings have been suitor to procure liberties and privileges for religious foundations; it is certain that there have been many appeals,* that the kingdom hath been interdicted; and I could give many such instances; and therefore I could wish that according to the writ of sending *corpus cum causa*, so taking away their lives, they should not deny the cause, which will make other men think they distrust their religion.

What I have written concerning treasons is only in the knight's† order; in comparing the time of King James with the time of Queen Elizabeth; for in the whole time of King James

* To the See of Rome.

† Sir A. Weldon.

I do remember but these two treasons. The first, of Cobham's, which I did ever think to be an old relic of the treasons in Queen Elizabeth's time, and that George Brooks was the contriver thereof, who being brother-in-law to the secretary, and having a great wit, small means, and a vast expense, did only try men's allegiance, and had an intent to betray one another, but were all taken napping and so involved in one net. This in effect appears by Brooks' confession; and certainly King James, as he was a most wise, understanding king, would never have given such a pardon, nor permitted that Raleigh should never have been brought to the scaffold, as the others were, but that the king had no opinion of that treason, and therefore was pleased to pardon all save only Brooks and the priests. It is usual in the raising of armies always to begin with some exemplary punishment, to strike terror into the rest of the soldiers, and so likewise kings at their first coming to their crowns have done the like. Here are priests hanged to give the kingdom assurance how he stood affected to religion; and here was Brooks beheaded, a man of a dangerous wit and a desperate fortune, and the first contriver of this plot. Then succeeds the Powder Plot, the most wicked and cursed attempt that ever was practised by men, and generally acknowledged for a truth on all sides; and after these two plots we hear of no more treasons after this time, but only the quartering of priests, that he

took as a thing of course, begun in Queen Elizabeth's time, and so held on by judges, lawyers, pursuivants, and others, for their advantage. For they could not make such profit by convicted recusants unless sometimes they fell upon their priests and made them exemplary.

But in Queen Elizabeth's time there was nothing more frequent and usual; and yet I do verily believe that the Queen then did think herself in no danger. I confess that she was a lady of admirable qualities, and among other her virtues she was of a wonderful courage and an undaunted spirit; whereof I will give these two instances, which I had from those that did see her and hear her.* In Tilbury Camp she did ride up and down amongst the soldiers and did encourage them, and told them that she would strike the first blow in that battle, which did much hearten the soldiers. Secondly, when the Earl of Essex was up in the City in arms and had an intent to surprise the court, and certainly might have attempted it, had

* An anonymous but contemporary writer, quoted by Sir Henry Ellis, observes, that when the Queen heard of the earl's entering the City, she being then at dinner, only remarked, that "He that had placed her in that seat would preserve her in it;" and so continued at her dinner, without showing any fear or distraction of mind.—Orig. Letters, 2nd Series, iii. 192. But from the steps taken by the government on that occasion, and the activity of the secretary, who probably possessed intelligence of everything of moment likely to affect the state, I have little doubt but that she was apprised beforehand of all the earl's movements. The notion, however, of the Queen sick-

not the valiant Bishop of London* prevented it ; for he came with a great number to go down Ludgate, but the bishop had prepared arms and muskets to hinder him, whereby he was fain to go by water to his own house, and thereby the whole company was dissipated. In the heat of the business, when as all the courtiers had taken up arms and stood to defend the gates, the Queen thus spake openly several times : “ Truly I think all this preparation is needless ; for I know the Earl of Essex is so loyal and loves me so well, that he will not hold up his finger against me.” These words by several people were carried to the Earl of Essex, which made him a little more remiss in prosecuting the business, and the sooner to yield. This I write to shew the Queen’s courage ; but truly I think she never thought herself to be in any fear or danger of her life, for she was very wise, and would not have adventured herself in that manner if she had thought herself to be in danger.

ening and falling into deep melancholy upon the earl’s death, would have more the air of romance than real history, did not many credible writers assert it. In a diary, preserved among the MSS. of the Harleian Collection, the author states, that he was informed on the authority of Dr. Parry, that Dr. Barlow, one of the Queen’s chaplains, had fallen under the Queen’s displeasure for venturing into her presence in violation of a strict charge which she had given to the contrary : “ because,” as he continues, “ she would not have the memory of the late Earl of Essex renewed by him who had preached against him at St. Paul’s.”

* Bancroft.

In the year '88, I did then live at the upper end of the Strand near St. Clement's Church, when suddenly there came a report unto us, (it was in December, much about five of the clock at night, very dark,) that the Queen was gone to council, and if you will see the Queen you must come quickly. Then we all ran; when the Court gates were set open, and no man did hinder us from coming in. There we came where there was a far greater company than was usually at Lenten Sermons; and when we had staid there an hour and that the yard was full, there being a number of torches, the Queen came out in great state. Then we cried, "God save your majesty! God save your majesty!" Then the Queen turned unto us and said, "God bless you all, my good people!" Then we cried again, "God save your majesty! God save your majesty!" Then the Queen said again unto us, "You may well have a greater prince, but you shall never have a more loving prince:" and so looking one upon another awhile the Queen departed. This wrought such an impression upon us, for shows and pageants are ever best seen by torch-light, that all the way long we did nothing but talk what an admirable queen she was, and how we would adventure our lives to do her service. Now this was in a year when she had most enemies, and how easily might they have then gotten into the crowd and multitude to have done her a mischief! But here we were to

come in at the Court gates, and there was all the danger of searching.

Take her then in her yearly journeys at her coming to London, where you must understand that she did desire to be seen and to be magnified; but in her old age she had not only wrinkles, but she had a goggle throat, a great gullet hanging out, as her grandfather Henry the Seventh is ever painted withal;* for in young people the glandels do make all things seem smooth and fair, but in old people the glandels being shrunk, the gullet doth make a little deformity. And truly, there was then a report that the ladies had gotten false looking-glasses, that the Queen might not see her own wrinkles; for having been exceeding beautiful and fair in her youth, such beauties are ever aptest for wrinkles in old age. So then the Queen's constant custom was a little before her coronation-day to come from Richmond to London, and to dine with my Lord Admiral at Chelsea,† and to set out from Chelsea at dark night, where the Lord Mayor and

* Walpole, in his "Royal and Noble Authors," has given the impression of one of Elizabeth's coin, which was struck apparently a few years before her death. It represents her very old and ugly.—Ed. by Park, ii. 90.

† Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, a great favourite of Queen Elizabeth. He was the only person who had influence sufficient to persuade her to go to bed in her last sickness, (Cary's Mem. 178,) she having an apprehension of some prediction, as it was thought, that she should die in it.—See Von Raumer's Hist. of XVI. Cent. &c. ii. 187.

the Aldermen were to meet her; and here all the way long from Chelsea to Whitehall was full of people to see her, and truly any man might very easily have come to her coach. Now if she thought that she had been in danger, how is it credible that she should so adventure herself? King James, who was as harmless a king as any was in our age, and consequently had as few enemies, yet wore quilted doublets stiletto proof: the Queen had many enemies; all her wars depended upon her life; she had likewise very fearful examples: the first Duke of Guise was shot; Henry the Third, the French king, was stabbed; the Duke of Orange was pistoled;—and these might make the Queen take heed. Now there cannot be a greater token either to justify, to commend, or blame a government, than the multitude of treasons in the subject: they do argue a discontent, and there must be some cause in the prince; they do argue jealousies and fears, and sometimes tyranny. Queen Elizabeth was wont to say that she did desire to make her subjects rather blush than draw their blood, to make them rather ashamed of their faults than to use the rigour and extremity of the law. Now of treasons there are two sorts,—either against the person of the prince alone, or else for the subversion of the state and government: for the person of the prince it often falls out, but for the subversion of the state we must consider how it is settled, as

there was no state in the world so legally settled as England was in their times; and as this cannot be the act of one man, but men requiring many helps, it is usually discovered and so prevented. That Portugal should so generally revolt from the King of Spain, and that things should be so settled with so little loss of blood, surely it was wonderful.

CHAPTER IX.

King James' respect for his Queen.—Denmark House.—Description of the fertility of Spain.—The pirating of Drake by the Spaniards.—Remarks on the British seas, and right of the Flag.—King James' love of hunting.—His different houses.—Account of Secretary Lake, and his rise at Court.

THUS far I have digressed concerning treasons wherein the knight was pleased to charge King James, though most unjustly. Now he writes that Southampton should be a favourite, and only hindered by Salisbury; whereas we did hear that they were very great friends, and that Salisbury was the only means to save his life; and at that instant Philip Earl of Montgomery became the favourite. *And whereas he sayeth that Salisbury did not like that any of Essex's faction should come into play, he doth utterly mistake; for Salisbury did then contrive that the young Earl of Essex and his own son should both match in the family of the Howards. And whereas he speaks of the King's jealousy, truly that might have been forborne; and I am confident there was no such cause. And whereas he says that he did not delight in the Queen's company, truly at that time they did*

keep company ; they had children ; one of them was born at Greenwich, and two of them lie buried at Westminster, where is their monument at this day. It is true that some years after they did not much keep company together. The King of himself was a very chaste man, and there was little in the Queen to make him uxorious ; yet they did love as well as man and wife could do, not conversing together. She had many suits from the King ; the King did prefer many upon her recommendations : when she died and left some things unfinished which she had past, the King made all good ; whatsoever she gave the King made it good ; and it was no small matter that she should give all her linen to Mrs. Anna, so mean a gentlewoman.* Nor were they small sums of money which she had from the King, that she should be continually in building, both at Denmark House and in Greenwich. And to conclude, the King gave her a most royal funeral ; and that he was never taxed or tainted with the love of any other lady, I dare boldly say, that there are many thousands in England that would be his compurgators.

After the King's jealousy he comes to Lenox's opportunity, and that the Jesuits should report the English to be ugly and like devils. These are such poor silly things, that they are fitter for boys or old women to speak of than a

* She left all her jewels to Charles, who was her favourite son.

knight and a courtier. Then whereas he describes the embassies, seeing they were ceremonies usual amongst princes, and the accidents falling out which he relates of particular persons, I omit as not worthy the insisting upon. But whereas he sayeth that food and corn are equally alike scarce with Spaniards, I do wonder that the gentleman did not consider, first, for food in Madrid, where the court resides, there is not one bit of brown bread baked; from whence we may infer that the very beggars there feed upon white bread; and he that hath such plenty of corn must needs have plenty of all other provisions, for corn is the foundation of all. It is corn that feeds and fattens poultry, cattle, swine, and all creatures. There is not a nation under the sun that doth more abound with corn than Andalusia. It is true, that when we land at the Groyne, we pass over the rocky and heathy parts of Spain, as all other kingdoms have the like. Where is there any worse land in the world than some parts of Windsor Forest? — whereas I myself have spoken with Italians upon the Terrace at Windsor, who looking about and seeing all the country did compare it to Lombardy. And for the coin of the Spaniard, there is not any king under the sun that is able to maintain such armies, in the Low Countries, in Italy, and in the several parts of the world, Asia and Africa, with ready money and good pay, as the Spaniard hath

done for this one hundred years without intermission. Who knows not that silver is the proper commodity of Spain? How many mints hath the Spaniard going? Yet notwithstanding, he hath employed our mint. If any State should raise the price of silver, he doth but enrich the Spaniard; which makes us forbear any attempt in that kind.

And whereas the knight sayeth that they pictured Sir Francis Drake half a man and half a dragon;* alas! who can hinder the fancy of picturers and poets! But this man-dragon knew very well the wealth of Spain, who carried his spoils round about the world, and coming after to look for the like booty, died like a frantic man, as one related unto me who was then in his company.†

It is true they have in Spain much base-money, which some do conceive to argue poverty, but truly I think otherwise, — that it makes them more charitable and more frugal, and doth expose them to less danger of spoil, and saves much the consumption of silver. As for example; when I was young, we had

* This was a pictorial pun upon his name.

† He died at Porto Bello, principally from grief occasioned by his misfortunes.—See Camden in the year 1595, whose account of this last voyage of Sir F. Drake closely follows a journal written by one who was engaged in this adventure, and which is still preserved in a contemporary hand among the Tanner MSS. of the Bodleian. I have little doubt but that Camden had seen this or some similar document.

silver halfpence, pence, twopence ; now in effect we have few, — they are lost. A beggar craves alms and takes a denial because the gentleman sayeth he hath no single money.* In Spain, a man goes to the market and cheapens lemons ; he finds they are sold for twenty a penny : he considers that two will serve him ; it is fit that he should have a piece of money to pay for these two.

Now I come to the Dutchman's very brag to the King's ship, to acknowledge his sovereignty at sea : God forbid that I should be an enemy to my own country, or lose any part of that inheritance, honour, or due respects, which belong unto it ; but having found very often such lamentable effects in the shedding of Christian blood, which the taking down of the flag hath occasioned, I will make bold a little to express myself therein.

* See a curious letter of Sir Robert Heath, the attorney-general, to the Duke of Buckingham, proposing to alter the standard of our silver money, and comparing the purity of our coinage with that of the Spaniards and other nations. The want of small specie seems to have been much felt at the time ; but the measures proposed by the attorney-general for its remedy would hardly suit our present notions of political economy. James, however, did make an alteration in the coinage ; among other things, to use the words of Fuller, he waved his crown (in the two-and-twenty shilling pieces), to wear the laurel in his new twenty shilling pieces. On the same token that a wag passed this jest thereon : that poets being always poor, bays were rather the emblem of wit than wealth, since King James no sooner began to wear them, but presently he fell two shillings in the pound in public valuation.

And here I must tell you, that I have heretofore been as well acquainted in the King's navy, and all the officers therein, as any Churchman hath been, and, I think, a great deal more than the knight. It is true that our seas have most anciently been called, two thousand years ago, Oceanus Britannicus; and therefore, if the title and denomination can give a right of inheritance, surely the seas are ours. For the protection and safe passage in these seas, no doubt but England hath had royal ships to secure them, as likewise for the safety of the island; but when I consider that when England and Normandy were joined together, so that we were on both sides, yet no claim nor propriety on the sea;—when I consider that Calais was ours, and between Dover and Calais we might have made a kind of Denmark Sound, we never attempted it, yet were the kings of England then most powerful;—when we consider, in Queen Elizabeth's time, that we had Flushing and Brill, the cautionary towns, and in effect the command of Holland and the United Provinces, (for she was the great lady and mistress of them, though for avoiding envy and malice she would not accept the title,) yet then she had the command of more shipping than all Christendom had besides, yet then we claimed no propriety on the seas:—now at this time to turn that compliment into a propriety, and thereby in effect to stand in defiance to the continent

of the world, that they shall have no trading between themselves without leave from us to pass through our seas, that they shall have no fishing but with our licence and approbation,—nay, that for taking some of the flag there hath been sometimes a sea-fight, which of all other fights is most bloody, and from thence that quarrels and wars should arise between kingdoms; yea, further, that it should be an occasion for laying great taxes and impositions, viz. ship-money, upon the subject, to raise a royal army to maintain such a complement; and the subject being pressed upon, should conceive such hatred to the government as that it should draw on the subversion of states;—surely these considerations do move me to wish that such a controversy may not be decided by rash and desperate soldiers; but rather that it may be determined by a grave and wise council, lest we engage the continent of the world and all other nations against us.

Whereas the knight writes that the lords should persuade the King to leave the state affairs to them, and he to betake himself to country recreations, this had been too gross and foolish a counsel to give to such a wise king. The truth is, he did love solitariness, and was given to his study; and finding the affairs of the world to be so full of falsehood, himself being a right honest-natured man, he took no delight to deal in them. Besides, he did avoid many impertinent

suits, for he knew his own infirmity,—that he had no power to deny a man that was an importunate suitor: himself would desire nothing but what was reasonable, honest, and just, and so he thought that other men would tie themselves to the same rule; but he found that they did not. He was likewise much in those parts, because the air did better agree with him, for his health's sake, and for his recreation.

For the purchasing of Theobald's House, and the manner of contriving it, certainly many others knew it as well as the knight; but the King did desire to gratify Salisbury, and surely the house was not so fit for a subject. It is very large, well-contrived, very stately,—a very sweet, wholesome place; but it hath neither lordship nor tenants, nor so much as provision of fuel; only a park for pleasure, and no more. Now seeing the King had houses about London on every side;—in Kent, he had Greenwich and Eltham; in Essex, Havering; in Middlesex, Hampton Court; in Surrey, Nonsuch and Richmond and Oatlands;—therefore in the northern side towards Scotland he desired to have one house; and in his time he made more use of it than of any other. Besides, it was near to Waltham Forest, which is the nearest forest to London, and, as the knight doth observe, no doubt but he had an advantageous change. But whereas the knight here gathers, *that the King loved beasts better than men,*

and was more tender over the life of a stag than of a man, and that it was the weakness of his judgment and the poorness of his spirit; these words might very well have been spared, for it did not become a servant to speak them. And whereas he adds afterwards that the King took delight in displacing officers, a man might see from whence his choler ariseth, that he should thus maliciously spit out his poison.

And now the knight comes to Lake, the clerk of the signet, and doth him great wrong, as he doth all others. It is true that Sir Thomas Lake's coming up was under Secretary Walsingham, and no doubt but he procured him to be clerk of the signet; so was Sir John Wood a servant to Secretary Smith, who preferred him to that office: so Sir Thomas Windebanke, who was another clerk of the signet, did belong, as I do take it, to Secretary William Cecil: so that it was usual for them to be bred up in that manner, and therefore could be no disparagement unto him. Now that which did raise Lake was this. It belongs to the secretary's office to present to the King all the bills that are to be signed; the secretary sends them to the signet office, or, at least, receives them from thence, giving directions what bills should be drawn. Now the secretary, in regard of his greatness, being wholly employed in state affairs, and being master of the wards, could not attend the King in his hunting journeys; therefore it

was necessary that some other should present the King with the bills ; and this falling out in Lake's month, (for Sir Thomas Windebanke was not without some exceptions ; Sir John Wood, though a very honest gentleman, yet had not the boldness for such employment,) and Sir Thomas Lake applying himself wholly to the Scotsmen, and taking no fees of them, they gave him that commendation to the King, that the King would have none other but Lake : and here he grew to be full of employment, and even noblemen did use his help as well as others ; but it should seem he did not apply himself so much to Salisbury as he should have done ; whereupon Salisbury, knowing it to be part of his office to present the bills, and seeing that he was otherwise employed by the King, thought that the King would never have denied him, but that he might recommend one in his absence to execute that part of his office in exhibiting bills, and so he did recommend Sir Thomas Windebanke ; but Lake being now in possession by the Scotsmen's intercession, Salisbury could not displace him.

CHAPTER X.

The characters of some of the nobles in Queen Elizabeth's Court.—Lord Hunsdon.—Lord Cobham.—Lord Northampton.—Lord Zouch.—Improvidence of the Earl of Nottingham.—Sir Thomas Lake overawed by his Lady.—Marries his Daughter to Lord Ross.—His Lordship's connexion with Gondomar, who makes him a tool to discover the State secrets of his Father-in-law.—Origin of lieger ambassadors.—Simplicity of the courts of our early English Kings.—Aggrandizement, especially under Henry VIII.

BUT now I come to a passage which I must examine. The knight sayeth, that in *the Queen's time there were none in court but men of eminencies*. Truly, I am very heartily sorry that I should disparage any man in the least degree, and therefore I will do it here as sparingly as possibly I can, and I will only instance in those which the author doth mention, for I think it cannot stand with the honour of my order that I should be any man's accuser.

First, I will insist in the author himself, the knight; and if you will consider this very treatise, take him in his Latin sentences, take him in his English relations, how weak, how simple, how impertinent! Truly, it would make any man doubt whether he himself be a man of

eminency. After himself, I will take those whom he doth first name, for I will call out none. He begins with my lord chamberlain, whose son, Sir Robert Carew, was so; then my Lord Hunsdon, lord chamberlain, whether he were a man of eminency: be pleased to understand the officer, the lord chamberlain, there being at that time no lord steward, is the greatest governor in the King's house; he disposeth of all things above stairs, he hath a greater command of the King's guard than the captains hath, he makes all the chaplains, chooseth most of the King's servants, and all the pursuivants; there being then no dean of the King's Chapel, he disposeth of all in the chapel. Consider what the secretaries of the lord chamberlain have gotten in that office; I know one that got £1500. land per annum. Now it should be conceived that this man of all others should be the most eminent; yet truly my Lord Hunsdon was ever reputed a very honest man, but a very passionate man, a great swearer, and of little eminency.*

* His bluntness is pretty apparent even in his correspondence with Elizabeth. In one of his letters, in which he gives no very flattering character of the affection which James bore to her, he concludes by saying, that James was sore nettled by some letters got from Courcelles; "for the which I assure your highness he hath been twice ready to hang himself: a great pity he was so letted from so good a deed."—Murdin, 591. Naunton has described Hunsdon's character with some of his happiest strokes. "My Lord of Hunsdon," he says, "was of the Queen's nearest kindred; and on the decease of Sussex, both

Secondly, he names my Lord Cobham, and sayeth that he was very near a fool. I wonder, then, that he had not excepted him; but should say, that none were courtiers but men of eminencies. Cobham was lord warden of the Cinque Ports,—an office, in my certain knowledge, of as great trust and as great moment as any office in England. He did usually recommend to the Cinque Ports; and to these many links belonging he and his son took the place of lord chamberlain. He was a fast man to his prince, and firm to his friends and servants; and though he might speak big, and therein would be borne out, yet was he not the more dreadful, but less harmful, and far from the practice of my Lord Leicester's instructions, for he was downright; and I have heard those that both knew him well and had interest in him say merrily of him, that his Latin and his dissimulation were both alike, and that his custom of swearing and obscenity in speaking made him seem a worse Christian than he was, and a better Knight of the Carpet than he should be. As he lived in a ruffling time, so he loved sword and buckler men, and such as our fathers were wont to call men of their hands, of which sort he had many brave gentlemen that followed him, yet not taken for a popular and dangerous person. And this is one that stood amongst the *togati*, of an honest, stout heart, and such an one as, upon occasion, would have fought for his prince and his country; for he had charge of the Queen's person both in the court and in the camp at Tilbury." The Queen had oftentimes promised him an earldom; but this honour was as frequently delayed: at last, when he lay on his death-bed, the Queen gave him a gracious visit, causing his patent for the earldom to be drawn, his robes to be made, and both to be laid on his bed; but he who could dissemble neither well nor ill, "Madam," said he, "seeing you counted me not worthy of this honour whilst I was living, neither do I count myself worthy of it now I am dying."—Fuller's Worthies, i. 433. He died in 1596.

to the Cinque Ports, sixteen men, whom they upon his recommendation did choose and nominate to be barons and members of the House of Commons in Parliament, for so instead of citizens and burgesses they call them barons; and no subject in England did the like. Cobham being put out of that office, and the Lord Henry Howard Earl of Northampton succeeding, being once charged for a Papist, he took occasion in the Star Chamber to speak of the good service he had done to the King in that office,—that no man went out or came into the kingdom without strict examination and search, and many other things belonging to that office; and dying, when as no man respected honour more than himself, he did not desire to be buried with his ancestors, or in any cathedral church; but conceiving that office to be a place of the greatest trust and honour, he chose to be buried at Dover Castle, where his monument is to this day.

He that succeeded my Lord of Northampton, my Lord Zouch, was pleased to invite me and give me entertainment at Dover Castle, where we had such wines, such variety of viands, such fowl, such fish, as I am sure no subject in England could afford the like; such as come under the command of the castle do ever present him. He hath an absolute command of the Cinque Ports and a great part of the Admiralty, inso-much that many differences do fall out between

those two offices. Now, that such a place should be conferred on such a man, who, as the knight says, was the next degree to a fool, and yet the Queen preferred none but men of eminencies!

Thirdly, I will insist in a man whom all the world did love, and a man every way without exception, and that is in my lord admiral.* His office at that time was no less worth than forty thousand pounds per annum, for he had the tithes of all prizes. Now, how his money was spent, what poor estate he left behind him, to what distress he was put for want of money, I will forbear to speak. So then, in respect of judgment and providence, whether were he a man of eminence or not?

This is a subject which I do not desire to insist upon. Now this I will say of King James, he was a great writer, an excellent speaker, and a man of eminent judgment; and being so in himself, he had many privy councillors that were like him. I have been often in the Star Chamber to hear the lords speak; and I did hear a wise man say, that he thought verily that never a king in the world had so many good speakers of his council as King James had.

That Sir Thomas Lake was overawed by his wife; that if he did not what she commanded, she would beat him; that his wife was his overthrow, &c. — Sir Thomas Lake married, as I take it, Alderman

* Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.

Rider's daughter ; and no doubt she was a great match for him. She was a woman of a great courage, and Sir Thomas Lake was a man of a weak, thin body ; and this may give occasion of such a foolish report that she should beat him ; which, if it had been true, the knight should have ridden for them on the Coule Staffe, for they both lived at court, and so might be termed to be his next neighbour. But here I think I shall truly relate the occasion of Secretary Lake's fall. My Lord Ross* was a man of very great intellectuals ; he was grandchild to the Earl of Exeter, the heir of the Cecils ; for though the two brothers, Thomas Cecil and Robert Cecil, were made both earls together, the one of Exeter and the other of Salisbury, and that Robert, the younger brother, was first made earl, and so had precedency of his elder brother, this Lord Ross being a very great heir, (for, as I take it, he was heir general to the house of Rutland,) having a great and a dangerous wit, he was a traveller ; and upon his return he did address himself to Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, whom he found to be a very powerful man in the English court ; for besides his extraordinary abilities, and that he

* He was a worthless and a weak man, low in his morals, disgusting in his manners. An account of his behaviour in his travels, when he accompanied Sir Thomas Puckering, is preserved in the letters of Mr. Larkin to Sir Adam Newton, among the Harleian MSS. No. 7002. They contain particulars too scandalous and indecent for publication.

knew the King's disposition very well, and ever gave him great contentment, (for he was full of very many witty, pretty stories,) so a great league passed between my lord ambassador and my Lord Ross, which was furthered by one Diego, a Spaniard, and servant to the Lord Ross, and whom the lord did very much affect; and many passages there were between them, as that the Lord Ross should be an ambassador into Spain, and I do believe did there a little exceed his commission in the behalf of the Spaniards, for now all men's minds and expectation were upon the Spanish match. Upon his return still he did address himself to Gondomar, aiming at nothing so much as to be a statesman. Count Gondomar advising with him about his marriage, did persuade him to marry Secretary Lake's daughter, who was able to give a very great portion; and no doubt but he might instance in the Earl of Essex, who took the like course. My Lord Ross hearkened to the motion, and the marriage proceeded. Now, after the match, Count Gondomar made this use of him, to know of his father-in-law who that Spaniard was that gave that information and intelligence of all those private passages and secrecies which were discussed in the council of Spain; as the Earl of Bristol, when he was questioned in parliament, did produce a great many papers of passages in the council of Spain, which were brought him every night, and where-

of he took a copy and returned the original against the next morning.* This man, as my Lord of Bristol did inform me, died in the market-place, that is, was executed; being discovered by Sir Thomas Lake to his son-in-law Ross, and he revealing it to Gondomar, notice thereof came to the council of Spain, and he was executed.

Hereby you may conceive the continual intelligence that was held between our secretary and foreign ambassadors, and what strange courses some ambassadors do take; for it is not fair, nor honest, nor honourable, to corrupt servants to betray their masters' councils; such clandestine courses stand not with Christianity: and as these are base and

* To this Digby alluded in his defence before the House of Commons in the year 1626. "For divers years together," he observes, "there was not a letter sent by that king to any other state, that the King my master had not a copy of before, or by that time it came to the place whither it was directed. There was not any great action on foot whereof I had not the private instructions, and sent them thither; not any expedition by sea or land wherein I had not some ministers or intelligencers that gave me from time to time advertisements of their actions and most private intentions, whereof I advertised his Majesty from time to time. I used such industry to get all the papers of that king's private cabinet into my hands, took copies and notes of such of them as I thought useful, and upon every of them set my private mark before they were conveyed back again, to the end that if I should have had an occasion to have charged him with anything mentioned in the same papers, I might have let him see I knew it, by telling him in what paper it was, and marked with such a mark."—Rushworth, i. 272.

ignoble courses, so we may well suspect that their carriage in other things is not fair; where I will make bold to tax some of them. You shall then observe that these seignior ambassadors came into use much about the time of King Henry the Eighth, at which time princes began to take upon them greater state and magnificence than formerly they did, and then they began, under colour of holding good correspondence and mutual love betwixt themselves, to have their ambassadors to each other; who, indeed, do serve as spies and sentinels, and have done in these later times the worst offices to the Christian world of any other men, for they have been incendiaries, and nourished sedition, and sometimes taking upon them to compose differences, they have rather nourished them and increased them than otherwise. Walsingham did boast of it at his coming out of France, and so did Throgmorton; and if anything should be discovered against them, then presently they fly to the privileges and liberties of ambassadors; that they are to be accountable to none but to their own master for their actions; that they bear their prince's person, and therefore are to have the honour, place, and precedence which belongs to their masters. Then from the merchants of their own country they do expect their presents and their reward from them, as if they lay there only for their protection; and when I consider many unjust troubles and molestations

which befall the merchants, I do easily believe that the ambassadors had a hand therein to raise them, that so they might be well paid and rewarded for composing of them; and when these ambassadors after a short time return to their own masters, then they must be preferred and rewarded before all others. They must be secretaries, sworn of the council; while the King's servants, who have been faithful and trusty unto him, and have long waited and spent their time and means in expectation of some preferment, are cast off. But the ambassadors, for the short time of their employment, who have had a very honourable allowance, well paid, besides the great gifts of foreign princes, they must instantly be provided for; and some time their practices have been to ingratiate themselves with foreign nations, and by their means to get great preferments at home.

Sir Ralph Winwood, as I have heard, being ambassador with the Hollanders, had a child born, to whom he desired the state of Holland to be godfathers and gossips, to whom they gave the name of Hollandius; and I have heard it very credibly reported, that the States gave him a great sum of money to buy him the secretary's office: but certain it is, that, being secretary, he gave his best help and furtherance for the parting with the cautionary towns, Flushing and Brill,*

* There was a general report at the time that large sums of

which, as Mr. Camden told me, if he had lived, should have cost him dear, and he should have smarted for it;* and it is not unlike but they might give some furtherance to Secretary Conway, for he came in to be secretary after the match was broken with Spain, and he had been a commander amongst them, and very well beloved, as he did very well deserve, being a very honest, good-natured man.

And here I must desire you to take notice, that before King Henry the Eighth's time, the

money had been given to such of the commissioners as were employed in the treaty. But it should seem, by a letter of Edmonds to Winwood, that the report was unfounded. He tells Winwood that he had been employed in conjunction with M. de Berry in contradicting such a report, and in making it generally known that Winwood had refused the presents which were offered him. "And sith," says he, "you will have me believe that you are ignorant what sum was intended to each of you, I will tell you that I know there was assigned £2100 sterling for each of you four commissioners, which seeing you refused to accept in money, there is some plate providing for you at Antwerp to that value." Whether such be the language of one who is convinced of the truth of what he is stating, or reproof in the disguise of a compliment, I leave the reader to determine.

* Winwood appears to have been no favourite with his contemporaries; perhaps from a degree of asperity in his temper, or, more likely, on account of his superciliousness; for he seems to have overrated his own importance and abilities, which were by no means of the highest order. The testimony perhaps of Sir Thomas Edmonds on this point should be received with caution, (although not unsupported by contemporary authority,) who, on several occasions, complains of Winwood's conceitedness. In a letter to Sir D. Carleton, their common

secretaries were not of that great esteem and account as they have been since ; for then they did but only write the king's letters, and were not sworn of the king's council, but did attend, and had no more esteem than our clerks of the council have been since. But when as once these ambassadors came to be secretaries, they did advance the office ; they were ever of the king's cabinet council, they had the keeping of the signet, all businesses must pass through them, and they being wise men, knowing the king's disposition, and the course of things how they were carried, certainly they have a great advantage of others, and a special influence in all business.

And here I shall acquaint you, that since the invention of gunpowder,—the use whereof first came into this kingdom in the time of Edward

friend, he observes, “ The party you mention (Winwood) hath no whit deserved the judgment I always made of his natural disposition ; yet I thought that *res, ætas et usus*, the practice and experience he hath had of the world, would rather have taught him better to know than more to forget himself. Yet, for my part, I forgive him, since your lordship saith he continues my friend ; and in his self-conceitedness he will only prove his own enemy.” Sir D. Carleton is still more severe in his reflections upon the secretary, in a letter to Edmonds, dated 26th April, 1609. See both of them in Birch's Hist. View. p. 297.

Bacon's contempt and dislike of Winwood, (alluded to in the subsequent pages of this volume,) if it did not originate in, was at least increased by, political differences ; though it is not unlikely that the chancellor might have despised the secretary's solemn and empty gravity, and his little parts. He was just fitted for the Dutchmen.

the Third, some three hundred years since,—princes have been more imperious, and taken much more upon them than formerly they did. Then did they raise their prerogative, and live in a more magnificent fashion, answerable to their state and dignity ; for gunpowder is in effect the whole strength of war,—all other weapons and instruments are little regarded in respect of it. Now, if princes can make themselves the sole masters of gunpowder, which is easily done by their commissions, that none shall make powder but whom they shall appoint, and being made, that they shall have the pre-emption or sole emption, certainly they have their subjects naked and weaponless, and no way able to resist their power ; and then they may insult and do what they please ; then they began to lay impositions, to increase their revenues, and to live in a more magnificent manner. Before the Conquest, my founder, King Edward the Confessor, did but live like a private man ; he kept the money which he had in a chest in his own bed-chamber, and Hugolin his servant had the key of it ; there was no lord high-treasurer, with his mace, and his white staff, and all his officers attending him ; his queen Editha would sometimes pose young scholars in their grammar rules, and then sometimes give them a piece or two of silver out of her own purse, and send them to the buttery to break their fast. This Edward the Confessor died in the Painted

Chamber, where the two houses of parliament did meet; and there upon his death-bed did he foresee great troubles that would befall this kingdom. After his time, when the Conqueror came in, who never fought but one battle, and was very lovingly received by the bishops and the nobles, and many others in the kingdom, (for Harold had no colour of right, and his father, Earl Goodwin, had left a very ill report behind him,) yet William of Normandy would needs hold the kingdom by conquest, and his successors did ever hold it by that title, and gave it in their own style, as *Henricus Tertius post conquestum*, *Henricus Octavus post conquestum*. They might have remembered that if Normandy in the time of William the father did conquer England, then England in the time of Henry the First, his son, did conquer Normandy, and there was a requital. But, truly, the conquest was with his laws, and his successors' laws, and not with his sword; or suppose there had been an absolute conquest, yet certainly he did not conquer his own soldiers. Now the greatest part of the English are descended from Normans, and in that right they might claim a liberty, that the conquest is expired, and now they are to be governed by just laws.

Of all the kings in England, Henry the Second was the greatest and the most powerful, and he did much enlarge his prerogative, and did much increase the state and magnificence of his court.

He held great territories, and all in quiet possession; he was made Lord of Ireland by Adrian the Fourth Pope, an Englishman, whose name was Nicholas Breakspeare, and whose father was a monk of St. Alban's, and he himself born within four miles of the place. For those our other kings which were conquerors, as Edward the Third and Henry the Fifth, you must consider that what they held, holding it by the sword, and being never there peaceably settled, their gain by their conquest did little more than quit cost. But the state and magnificence of the English court did especially appear in the time of King Henry the Eighth: the order and allowance of his house was contrived by Cardinal Wolsey in as magnificent a manner as any prince hath in the world; here was no putting to board-wages, the meanest yeoman had three good dishes of meat, every gentleman's table had five dishes, the clerk comptroller had eight dishes — very substantial meat, more than would have served forty or fifty people, and his table cost the king, buying the meat at the king's price, very near 1,000*l.* per annum: The lord chamberlain had sixteen dishes; two joints of meat went for a dish.

I will not here speak of the very great excess of the lord steward's table in the time of the parliament, for the entertainment of the lords and the members of parliament.

CHAPTER XI.

Narrative of the proceedings against the Lakes resumed.—Account of the family of Lord de Ross.—King James resolves to be present at the trial of the Lakes.—The Countess of Exeter makes means to him to burn some private letters concerning her. They are burnt.—The Lakes cast.—The true reason of their failure.

To return to Sir Thomas Lake ;* there fell out a great difference between the Lord Ross and his wife, insomuch that he did forbear her company. His wife had lighted upon some letters sent unto him whereby it might appear that his love

* Sir Thomas Lake was a native of Southampton, and being distinguished for his natural abilities and good education, he was employed by Sir Francis Walsingham, and recommended by him to Queen Elizabeth to be secretary for the French and Latin tongues. With the Queen he enjoyed great credit, obtaining the sobriquet of *Swiftsure*, from his accuracy and despatch in writing, and was by his royal mistress promoted to be clerk of the signet, to whom, according to Lloyd, he read French and Latin every day, and was reading to her when the Countess of Warwick told him the Queen had departed. After the death of the Queen, he was sent to attend King James from Berwick, who in 1614 created him one of his privy councillors; and two years after he was sworn one of the principal secretaries of state. His eldest daughter was married to William

was carried another way, and she finding herself to be neglected, did easily believe that she was to be poisoned, and herewith she acquaints her mother, who took it to heart, and being a lady of a violent spirit, did break into most rash and inconsiderate words, and did touch very much upon the honour of the Countess of Exeter. These words coming to the hearing of the Countess, she took them to heart, and did resolve to acquit herself. She put a bill into the Star Chamber against Sir Thomas Lake, his lady, and the Lady Ross; and when Sir Thomas Lake had seen many letters which passed, he began to stir in the business, and put in a cross bill.

In the mean time, be pleased to understand that what is usual when old men of great estates do marry young wives, the house will ever be full of faction; for some will adhere to the heir of the house, some to the wife of the bosom. The old man, though amorous yet past all wantonness, shall have much ado to carry himself between both and

Cecil, Lord de Ross, the son and heir of the Earl of Exeter by his first wife. "At last he fell, for the faults of others, into the King's displeasure, being punished for the offences of one of his nearest relations, and of all of them fined in the Star Chamber he was the only person generally pitied for his sufferings; yet even then King James gave him this public eulogy in open court, *that he was a minister of state fit to serve the greatest prince in Europe*. He was outed his secretary's place, which needed him more than he it, having achieved a fair fortune which he transmitted to posterity." — Fuller's Worthies, Hants, 9.

to give contentment to both. Thus it fell out with the Earl of Exeter, who married the widow of Sir Thomas Smyth, the clerk of the council, daughter to the Lord Chandos, having a son and a daughter by her former husband. She was a most comely, handsome lady, of excellent carriage, very discreet, and full of charity. She did much good to all sorts of people by her physic and surgery, and had great skill therein. My Lord Ross, her husband's grandchild, knowing this faction in the house, desiring to please the old man and to get what allowance he could, thought fit to use his grandmother's means therein, and she taking it so kindly that he was so well persuaded of her, and desiring to give her husband the greatest assurance she could how well she stood affected to all his issue, she became a most earnest spokeswoman in his behalf, and did him many very good offices; and certainly the old earl was very fond of him, and for his sake began to comply with Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, and, as I take it, feasted him at his house at Wimbledon; and I was once at dinner with the Earl of Exeter, when the ambassador sent him a Spanish olio, a pie consisting of many ingredients, out of which pie I did eat bacon, pheasant, partridge, chestnuts, pease, and many other things there were. The countess thus furthering my Lord Ross, it gave occasion of some further suspicion that she might

have a hand in the designs against the Lady Ross; and here began a very hot prosecution in law on both sides, and the King never having sat in any court, did now resolve to sit in the Star Chamber at the hearing of this cause. And truly, things were very strangely discovered for the quitting of the countess; that an ordinary man keeping no memorials of his business yet should make good proof by others, where he was at such time two or three years ago, with many such difficult passages hard to be proved.

But a little before the hearing, the countess made means to the King, that whereas some letters were brought to the Star Chamber which did not concern the business of poisoning, but only some other idle business, that they may be taken out of the Star Chamber, as things impertinent. The King considering with himself that many toys and idle passages might be even amongst the wisest men for the driving away of melancholy and for recreating of themselves, and if such should be divulged to the prejudice of others it would take away all familiar conversation between man and man; letters are sealed and directed to particular persons, and what may be written to some may be very absurd to impart unto others; and therefore as he desired to do justice unto all, so he would do nothing to the prejudice of civil society between man and man. Whereupon he sent to have all those letters which did not concern

the bill of the countess, that they should be all burnt; and this was the breakneck of Sir Thomas Lake's business, for surely some things there were in those letters not fit to be discovered, and hereby it did appear how the King stood affected in the business, who being fully acquainted with the whole accusation and all the several circumstances, the slow proceedings of the law were tedious unto him, and truly there was no colour of truth but all forged in that accusation. The King concurred with the rest of the lords in that sentence, but withal added, that Sir Thomas Lake was free and innocent in that business; yet the King thought fit upon this occasion to displace him and to take away his office of secretary, whether it were to gratify the Cecils, who were several ways joined with the Howards and other great families of the kingdom. Besides, he did ever love the Earl of Exeter, who was known to be a most honest, goodnatured man, and in the later end of the Queen's time he was made lord president of the North, an office wherein he might do the King very good service in his quiet coming to England, and no doubt but he held correspondence with him; for Doctor Benet making a speech to entertain the King into York, had words to this effect, that the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, father to this lord president, upon his deathbed did command his sons that if ever they did survive the Queen, that then they

should be for the King of Scots' title and none other.

The King having given this testimony to his Secretary Lake for the acquitting of him, many did wonder why he should be put out of his office; but the true cause was, though not divulged, in that he had discovered that Spanish spy who had done that good service and was executed for his pains; and another reason was, the King began now to find his own error, that being not apt to deny a suit, Sir Thomas Lake had so applied him with bills and reversions, that for the instant he had very little to bestow. Our church of Windsor had nine reversions, and so many were to be placed in before the King could place one canon; and so it was generally for all the offices in the kingdom.*

The King finding now the great inconvenience,

* This affair of the Lakes was most strange, and is enveloped in considerable mystery. Some curious letters on the subject will be found in the second volume. That of the Lady Lake to the Countess of Exeter is most astounding, if the production of a guilty person. But what is the strangest part in the whole business is this; that subsequently the Spaniards requested, and Charles and Buckingham seconded the request, that James would pardon Lady Lake. To whom the King made this characteristic reply. "As for miladie Lake, I muste both confesse to have pronounced an unjuste sentence, and breakeing promise to miladie Exceter in a matter of justice, if I graunte her any ease at this time; besides, that this cause hath no aspect to religion, excepte the Romishe religion be composed of the sevin deadlie sinnes; for I dare sweare she is guiltie of theime all." Ellis' Letters, iii. 120.

began to mislike him that had abused his good disposition by recommending so many suits; but still the King having acquitted him, who would have thought but that he might have been restored to the King's favour? which is usually expressed in such a phrase, that he might have kissed the King's hand; and certainly he had so much wit that he would not be cozened of two thousand pounds; neither had others so little honesty as to accept of such a sum for such a compliment.

To tell wanton tales and other secrets at Court is no new thing. When my Lord William Chandos was kept out of his inheritance by his brother's daughters, who held Sudely and other great demesns, Queen Elizabeth was wont to say, "The Lord Chandos hath another mistress whom he serves: let him see whether she can help him. If he had belonged to us, we would have relieved him."

But I do not desire to meddle with such subjects. Mr. Camden will tell you, in his Annals, that the Court ladies are excellent spies, and have notable intelligence in amorous businesses.

CHAPTER XII.

Magnificence of the Courts in Queen Elizabeth and King James' time compared.—Nobles in her time made no large fortunes.—Earls of Salisbury, Northampton, and Worcester.—James' bounty to the Scots.—Kelly, Anandale, and Carlisle.—Anecdote of the first, how he lost his money.—Venality of the times.—Anecdote of the Canons of Windsor and a Knight of the Garter.—The Author's intimacy with the King.—Blames his conduct to Arabella.

FOR the impoverishing of England, truly I did once speak with King James about it when he was in bed, upon this occasion, that the rents of lands were fallen; and he was then somewhat angry. The truth is, he could not be charged with impoverishing the kingdom, but his time being a time of peace, we fell to luxury and riot; no kingdom in the world spent so much in building as we did in his time; the Scots being poor, yet they learned of the French to be wasteful and immoderate in their expense. It is true, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, at the feast of St. George, when many of the lords were present, and every one had a multitude of servants, and all of them in their chains of gold; (and at that time of the year very often some ambassadors were

wont to come to London, and the merchants to entertain those ambassadors which came to treat for trading; I do believe that at some times I have seen very near ten thousand chains of gold stirring;) but when the King came in, he was desirous to bestow the Order of the Garter upon Scotsmen. Whatsoever they might do in their own country I know not, but here they had not such number of tenants and attendants as might any way equal the number of the English; and lest this might be observed and so make them the less respected, it pleased the King that no knight should exceed the number of fifty servants. So then I confess in former times they did exceed in chains of gold; but for excess in apparel and expense besides, the number of law-suits, and many other ways which might exhaust a kingdom, under his happy and peaceable government we did exceed. It is true that in Queen Elizabeth's time, when we had wars, the soldiers, who of all men are most wasteful, and thereby give an ill example to others, by the coming in of prizes made shift to pay scores; but in peaceable times, when we spend out of the main stock, no marvel if we be impoverished.

For those lords whom the knight reports to have got so much; truly, for Salisbury, I know at his death that his debts were such that he was fain to sell lands; for Suffolk, I know his gettings were great, but truly I think he did not leave any

great estate to his heir. Northampton built in Greenwich, at his own charge, upon the King's land, was unmarried, kept no house, and yet I never heard that he left much behind him. For Worcester,* he was a wonderful great husband, and did very much improve his own estate, and was a most provident man; but that he should gain much by his gifts from the King in a begging way, it was far from his disposition: he had indeed very good offices, master of the horse, lord privy seal, and, I think, had the keeping of some parks; but, having some occasion to speak with his son, who was after lord marquis, and concerning what gifts his father had gotten from the King, truly I understood him, very little by way of gifts. His father was very gracious with Queen Anne, and, I think, recommended one of his sons to be master of her horse, and I think he was of the privy chamber: all his sons were very happy in their marriages; and for the placing of his daughters, I ascribe it much to the countess, who was of the house of Huntingdon.

When he dejects so much the English, and so much commends the valour and bravery of the

* Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester. The qualities of prudence and temperance he inherited from his father. His father lived to ninety-seven, because he never ate but one meal a day; and he to eighty-four, because he never tasted of more than one dish. He was one of the very few papist noblemen who enjoyed without interruption or diminution the favour of two sovereigns.

Scots' spirit, that they made us beg a reunion with them, and that all our happiness is derived from their favours, I wonder much that such a book, so much disparaging the English, and that in comparison with the Scots, our next neighbours, with whom we have had great enmity, and of whom we never had any great good opinion, that such a book should be published by authority. It is true, they came into the kingdom to demand justice, and this drew on a parliament; they have had great sums of money paid them, they have had very great booties and preys, and truly now they have had justice according to their own desire; for the best part of Scotland is under the parliament's protection.* The first cause which moved the Scots to come in, as some conceive, was (though religion might be the pretence) because the King's bounty did fail them, and that he was not able to reward them as his father did; therefore, a little to enable him, that they might share a little in the fleece, having with a high hand suppressed their own bishops and put them to flight, they came hither to work means that the King might follow their example, and possess himself of the church revenues, and then he might be able to reward their good service.

And here the knight again speaks on the behalf of the Scots; yet three he names, Kelly, Annandale, Carlisle, got more than Salisbury,

* This was written in the time of the Commonwealth.

Suffolk, and Northampton. Kelly, besides rich wines, good offices, as captain of the guard, groom of the stole; though he told me that he never got a farthing by selling any one of the guards' places, though Sir Robert Cocke, clerk of the cheque to the guard, my old host at Romford, got a good estate by his office; and certain it is that Kelly did sell his captainship for a good consideration. It is credibly conceived that Kelly got to the value of seven score thousand pounds by the King. What monies soever he got, he committed to the custody of a servant; and that servant never gave him any account. At length, being in some want, he told the servant plainly, that he would have an account of his money. The servant took some notes and went into his study, and whether the candle fell casually upon his papers, or whether he did it wittingly, all his notes were burnt, and there was all the accompt that ever he could get from his servant.

For Annandale, he was an universal man, and got more or less by every suit; as the knight reports, that he got by Sir George Moore, and it was great pity to take from him; but truly I think that his bags had holes in them, and that much of his wealth was spent by those he knew not. Carlisle's greatest gettings were beyond seas, whereof I could take but little notice. For the rest of the Scotsmen whom he names, it may appear how he stood affected; and if others had

done so, the knight would have said that it had proceeded from the poorness of spirit. We did ever conceive this, that the King, to ingratiate the Scots to the English, and the better to incorporate them together, gave all suits to the Scots, and they selling them at easy rates to the English, thereby had their love and affections; and the deadly feud between the two nations was utterly forgotten, whereby they may stand in no fear of Sicilian Vespers.

The knight here doth much mistake himself in the time; for the greatest gettings were in Treasurer Dorset's time, who left another manner of estate behind him than Salisbury, for I do not reckon the rent of the houses in London which yield rent unto Salisbury; and it hath ever been usual with great officers when such things have past under them, ever to make an advantage to themselves. For you must consider that the allowance of the King is not great; the very New-year's gifts which were wont to be given to the lord treasurer by the officers under him did amount to sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds at least, and many other ways they had before Salisbury's time. I will here tell you two stories which were most true in my certain knowledge.

One came to Sir Peter Vanlore and told him that he must help the king to some monies; to whom Sir Peter replied, that monies were very hard to be gotten at this time, because the ex-

change went very low; where you must note that Sir Peter, and some other Dutchmen, as Burlemark, Reyem, &c. were a kind of bankers here amongst us, but being pressed for the loan of monies, he said, he would see what he could do, and asked what security he should have: to whom answer was made, that he should have the best security in the world, for he should have pawns and mortgages, for all those jewels which he sold to the King for twenty-seven thousand pounds should now be given in security for twenty thousand pounds. Sir Peter here began to shake his head, and said he could not take them for twenty thousand pounds; not that the price of jewels were fallen, but saith Sir Peter, "Though the king paid twenty-seven thousand pounds, yet the money was not paid to me, but others did share in the price of my jewels." So I knew another merchant, who had but one stone, and he did estimate it at four thousand pounds or thereabouts, and truly a courtier had five hundred pounds to procure the sale of it.

And now I will give you another instance, in building the walls of mine own house. The church of Windsor stands within the castle of Windsor; our houses did abut or were contiguous to the walls of the castle; the walls fell, whereby the house was not habitable; we petitioned the King, we had commissions out of the Exchequer, and many orders, that repairing was

to be at the King's charge, yet still we could get nothing done; we lost time and expense in soliciting the business: at length, sitting in chapter, one of our canons made a speech to this purpose: "The times are such that we Churchmen are thought to be very simple and weak in judgment in respect of lawyers and great officers, and the reason is because our wit is bounded with honesty, whereas theirs having no such bounds and limitations, it seems therefore to be of a larger extent than ours. Not to speak, then, what is fit to be done, but to speak according to the ordinary practice of the world, men must now bribe that they may have and enjoy their own; and therefore, instead of letters, or making means or friends, I could wish that one might buy a purse and put in it one hundred pieces, and present it to such a great officer, and desire his favour." The dean and the rest of the canons, being wearied and tired out with soliciting the business, hearkened to this man's motion, and it was concluded that the dean in his own person should present the money, only with this message, that the Church of Windsor, remembering their humble duties and service to his lordship, made bold, according to their poor abilities, to present his lordship with a small token, which they did humbly desire his lordship to accept, and to afford them his lawful favour in such a business. The dean did perform the message accordingly, and

the lord received the money and said nothing to him. The dean, at his return, as the manner is, instantly called a chapter, to give an account of the business, and there gave his account, that he had done all things punctually according to their desires, and that the lord did not speak one word to him, neither did he add one word but according to his commission: "Indeed," said he, "I thought something more, I confess; but that was private to myself." "Then," quoth one of the canons, "Mr. Dean, we must have *quid pro quo*: we have parted with our monies, and if we have not actions yet we must have words; and if we have not words, it is fit we should have thoughts; and therefore, to deal plainly with you, I am auditor, and I will not pass this money in our accompts unless you will be pleased to impart your thoughts unto us." Then said other canons, "A very good motion: Mr. Dean, we must have your thoughts, or else you must repay the monies." The dean being pressed, said, that when he delivered the money and the lord received it and said nothing, he looked upon him and thought thus within himself: "Thou base knave! when thou wert made Knight of the Garter, thou didst swear to protect the Church of Windsor: hast thou so many thousands of thine own, and wilt thou not do us justice without a bribe? What we have is spent in hospitality, for the relief of the poor, and for the honour of God and God's Church; some of

us are not worth one hundred pounds: the money shall perish with thee and thine." And so truly it did, for it did not prosper. This was before Salisbury's time; and so you see it hath been the practice of all times.

Now whereas the knight is somewhat large in relating the story of the coming in of Somerset to be a favourite, I shall a little digress; and though I confess I was more beholden to King James than ever I was to all the men in the world, and I doubt not but God hath rewarded him for his goodness towards me, and I shall desire God that I may never live that day wherein I shall be wanting unto him in all those Christian duties which are required from the living to the dead, yet I must needs say, that I did more often offend him than any man did of my degree. Once a good preferment was intended for me, and I had a message from him concerning it; yet I did then so much displease him, that I lost the preferment;* and when the King first saw the archbishop, he complained to him of me, and caused the archbishop to have a general meeting of all the clergy in England, and to give them special warning that they should not offend in that kind. Ano-

* Goodman was to have been removed to Hereford, but lost this preferment, the King taking offence because the bishop wanted to hold Gloucester in commendam with it for a year.— See the Harl. MSS. 7000, f, 189. But whether this, or some circumstance of the same kind, was the occasion of the King's displeasure, I know not.

ther time I did so much displease the King, that he set upon it to disgrace me; and then did the prince and the duke do the like by his example. Another time I displeased him when he was in his bed; and yet notwithstanding, I must confess, he did affect me to his dying day, and although I say it, and that few know it, he would have hearkened unto me as soon as to another man. As, then, I displeased him in his life, so give me leave to blame him a little after his death, especially in that business of the Lady Arabella, for her usage and her imprisonment only for her marrying the now Earl of Hertford, which match could be no disparagement to her nor to her royal kindred, but was every way a fit and a convenient match. She was a very virtuous and a good-natured lady, and of great intellectuals, harmless, and gave no offence. Now to be imprisoned for the honourable estate of marriage, was against God's law and the law of nature; yet I confess it hath been frequent and usual with princes, especially with Queen Elizabeth. For Mr. Camden* reports that the Lady Arabella's grandmother, the Countess of Lenox,† was thrice imprisoned only for marriages, and he relates it out of her own mouth: and so truly I could say much on the behalf of

* Camden's Annals, in the year 1562.

† Margaret, niece to Henry VIII. by his eldest sister, married Matthew Douglas, Earl of Lenox.

the Earl of Hertford; but he being now living, I will not seem to flatter him.

Now let us hear what King James said in his own defence.* First, that the Lady Arabella was his nearest kinswoman, and therefore both in duty and respect unto him he should not have been neglected in a business of that high nature. Secondly, that she was his ward, and therefore in the course of common law she ought not to have disposed of herself. Thirdly, that he out of his tender care and love unto her did often proffer marriages unto her, and she ever said she did no way incline unto marriage; and had she of herself proposed any one to the King, whom she did like and affect, the King did promise his best endeavour to further it. Fourthly, that she did match with one of the blood royal who was descended from Henry the Seventh, so that by this match there was a combination of titles, which princes have ever been jealous of; and considering what issue the King had, and that his only daughter was matched to a foreign prince, (a most unfortunate match, as it fell out,) what the multitude might do in such a case and upon such an occasion he thought in honesty and policy he might prevent.

And what punishment did he inflict? Surely a little imprisonment, no strict restraint, but with

* James speaks very affectionately of her in a letter to Lord Henry Howard. See Cecil's Secret Correspondence, 118.

great freedom and liberty. And hereunto you may add the King's great favours unto her before her marriage: a large allowance;* she lived in the greatest respect and esteem at court: the King preferred her followers; her chaplain Dr. Oates was made canon of Windsor upon her recommendations, with many other such like favours. Being in this *libera custodia* which the King thought was fit for his honour lest he should be slighted by others, she brake prison; and certainly it was her own voluntary act, without any trick of state: she fled towards France, and it was a thousand to one but she had escaped, for it was only the turning of the wind which hindered it. Here, then, there was a great offence against the law; and be the crime what it will, yet the breaking of prison is punishable. If the King should hereupon intend to send her a prisoner to Scotland, yet this was only an intent, nothing was acted; or if it had been put in

* In a note of remembrances of payments about the year 1606, her annual income is stated to have been 1600*l*.—MS. Lansd. quoted by Ellis, iii. 64, 2nd Series.—In another letter, it is stated that, in 1609, the King “gave her a cupboard of plate, better than 200*l*., for a New-year's gift, and a thousand marks to pay her debts, besides some yearly addition to her maintenance; want being thought the chiefest cause of her discontentment.” The same writer glances at a dishonourable suspicion current at the time, which might be a very good reason for her restraint. (Winwood, iii. 107.) In gentler terms, “these affectations of marriages,” says Beaulieu, “do give some advantage to the world of impairing the reputation of her constant and virtuous disposition.” *Ibid.* 119.

execution, all the world knows the King was mutable and soon pacified: but she dying before, the King would have her buried among her royal ancestors.* It is true, that to have a great funeral

* Some account of the unfortunate Arabella, from the papers of the French ambassador Spifame, may not be unacceptable to the reader. She was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, the younger brother of the Earl Darnley, descended in the third degree from Henry VIII. Her claims to the throne, which would certainly have taken effect had James been excluded, often furnished a pretext for sheltering the treasonable designs of the Roman Catholic as well as the ultra Protestant party: both contemplated the possibility of placing her upon the throne with a view to their own aggrandizement. But after the plots of Cobham and the Spaniards had failed in favour of Arabella, she remained in confinement, far less severe indeed than had been the confinement of the Queen of Scots, whose pretensions were less dangerous. In consequence of her marriage with the Earl of Hertford and the violation of her promise to the King, he removed her twelve or fifteen miles from London, and confined the earl to the Tower, suspecting that other designs were connected with the match. But although they were thus removed at a distance of fifteen miles from one another, upon Thursday the 14th of June they escaped at the same hour in the evening. When the officer of the watch went his rounds, the earl's servant excused his master's non-appearance at the door, on the plea of the toothache. Arabella rode in man's attire to Greenwich, where they met and set sail. At this time a French ship of twenty-five tons lay ready for sailing, bound to Calais with wares, and having about twenty persons on board; when, on the evening of the 13th, a person unknown, told the pilot, that he should be well paid if he would wait till the morning of Saturday the 15th, and take on board three persons of quality. The bargain was concluded for three dollars. As the three persons came not at the time appointed, the vessel set sail; but the parties followed soon after in a chalupe, and two persons besides, dressed in men's clothes, came on

for one dying out of the King's favour would have reflected upon the King's honour, and therefore it was omitted.

board, who said they belonged to the party. Soon after this, the vessel making but little way, another gentleman came off to them in a third boat, convincing all present that the travellers were persons of condition desirous to escape from England. Not long after, a royal guard-ship appeared in sight, twenty-five of whose crew getting into a boat, attempted to reach the French vessel, endeavouring to hinder its course by volleys of musketry. Upon this emergency, Arabella declared her sex and station; that she was flying from England, not because she had committed any crime against the King or the State, but to recover her liberty. She distributed money liberally among them, and implored them to press forward to Calais, whose towers were already in sight: but their efforts were vain—the soldiers got on board, and seizing her person, conducted her to London, where she was detained a prisoner till her death.—See Von Raumer's *Hist. of XVI. Cent. &c. ii. 225.*

CHAPTER XIII.

James taxed for his theological controversies and writings;—
For his fickleness towards Somerset.—Anecdote of Somerset,
Overbury, and the Queen.—Fall of Somerset.—Overbury's
death.—The Countess of Essex.—Rise of Buckingham;—
His personal qualities.

In the next place, I will tax my good old master King James, being a king and having so much employment and business in state affairs, for taking upon himself to write controversies in religion, and, which is more, to expound the Apocalypse, and therein to point out the Antichrist. Certainly he did not advise with his divines; or if he did, they out of their timorous dispositions were afraid to displease him, or to contradict anything which he himself had conceived: which I do believe by many instances; as where he writes, that he was as good a man as the Pope. The comparison itself, whether true or false, was a disparagement unto him; for who knows not but laymen in all worldly respects do far exceed churchmen, in their wealth, in their power, in their number of tenants, in their ancient nobility, in their state and magnificence, and all other worldly pre-eminence? The

dignity and honour which belongs unto churchmen is only in respect of Christ, and as they are successors to the apostles; so that it is merely spiritual, and being of another kind, there can be no fit comparison. There is no more disparagement for a layman to give place to a priest, which hath ever been the custom and manner amongst Christians, than that a body should give place to his shadow; yea further, laymen do therein testify their faith and religion; for if you come into a poor country church, I will fall on my knees, which I would not do if I were to enter into the most magnificent palace of a prince. And so, truly, for many other of the king's speeches, I could wish they had been forborne.

Now for the favourite Sir Robert Carr: truly he was a wise, discreet gentleman; and as Sir Robert Cotton, the great antiquary, told me, he did very often send unto him for precedents, when as things were to be done in the State which he doubted whether they were lawful and expedient, and therefore did desire to have the example of former times for his warrant. It is true, he did utterly dislike the bold carriage and importunity of the Scots; he knew that there was nothing to be gained by them, and he did but little esteem their clamorous complaints to the King: he did desire to ingratiate himself with the English, and of all others his special friend was Sir Thomas Overbury, a very witty gentleman, but truly very

insolent, and one who did much abuse the family of the Howards. He was once before committed for a very short time. Upon this occasion, the Queen was looking out of her window into the garden, where Somerset and Overbury were walking; and when the Queen saw them, she said, "There goes Somerset and his governor;" and a little after, Overbury did laugh. The Queen conceiving that he had overheard her, thought that they had laughed at her; whereupon she complained, and Overbury was committed. But when it did appear unto the Queen that they did not hear her, and that their laughter did proceed from a jest which the King was pleased to use that day at dinner, then the Queen was well satisfied, and he was released.*

* Sir H. Wotton, in his letters to Sir Edm. Bacon, dated Thursday, St. George's Eve (22nd April), 1613, gives the following information of Somerset's decline and fall:

"The court was full of discourse and expectation, that the King being now disencumbered of the care of his daughter, would towards this feast of St. George fill up either all or some at least of those places that had laid vacant so long, and had been in this time of their emptiness a subject of notorious opposition between our great viscount [Somerset] and the house of Suffolk. Thus I say ran the opinion; when yesterday, about six o'clock at evening, Sir Thomas Overbury was from the council-chamber conveyed by a clerk of the council and two of the guard to the Tower, and there, by warrant, consigned to the lieutenant as close prisoner: which, both by the suddenness, like a stroke of thunder, and more by the quality and relation of the person, breeding in the beholders (whereof by chance I was one) very much amazement, and being likely in some proportion to breed

Now here I do a little blame the knight, that he sets down the manner how Overbury should have been murdered, with more commendations, as by pistoling, by a duel, &c.; truly a very unadvised speech, and such as if it had been while Overbury had been living, certainly the knight had been accessory to the murder; and at this time the broaching of such tenets is of a dangerous example. But truly I do believe that God did dazzle their eyes and suffer them to be blinded, for I never heard of a murder wherein so many were interested, as if they did not desire to conceal it: it was so manifest and so notorious.

And whereas he speaks of Buchanan's character concerning the family of the Howards, that

the like in the hearers, I will adventure, for the satisfying of your thoughts about it, to set down the forerunning and leading causes of this accident, as far as in so short a time I have been able to wade in so deep a water.

“ It is conceived that the King hath a good while been much distasted with the said gentleman, even in his own nature, for too stiff a carriage of his fortune; besides that scandalous offence of the Queen at Greenwich, which was never but a palliated cure. Upon which considerations his majesty resolving to sever him from my Lord of Rochester, and to do it not disgracefully nor violently, but in some honourable fashion, commanded not long since the archbishop by way of familiar discourse to propound unto him the embassage of France or of the Archduke's court, whereof the one was shortly to be changed, and the other at the present vacant. In which proposition it seemeth, though shadowed under the archbishop's good will, that the King was also contented some little light should be given

they have no bravery of spirit; certainly of all others he had least cause to say so. Do not the family of the Howards, and only that family, bear the arms of Scotland in their coat; and by the rules of heraldry they may justly do so for the great victory obtained in the time of James the Fourth? And since that time have they not done very great service? have they not matched with the Duke of Buckingham, which was thought to be the noblest family in England? Was there ever so much good service done at sea as in the time of the late Admiral Howard?

him of his majesty's inclination unto it, grounded upon his merit. At this the fish did not bite; whereupon the King took a rounder way, commanding my lord chancellor and the Earl of Pembroke to propound jointly the same unto him, which the archbishop had before named, as immediately from the King; and to sanction it the more, he had, as I hear, an offer made him of assurance, before his going, of the place of treasurer of the chamber, which he expecteth after the death of the Lord Stanhope, whom belike the King would have drawn to some reasonable composition. Notwithstanding all these motives and impulses, Sir Thomas Overbury refused to be sent abroad, with such terms as were by the council interpreted pregnant of contempt in a case where the King had opened his will; which refusal of his I should for my part esteem an eternal disgrace to our occupation, if withal I did not consider how hard it is to pull one from the bosom of a favourite. Thus you see the point upon which one hath been committed, standing in the second degree of power in the court, and conceiving (as himself told me but two hours before) never better than at that present of his own fortunes and ends.

“Now in this whole matter there is one main and principal doubt, which doth trouble all understandings; that is, *whether*

I know not one of them noted for baseness; and sure I am, that for magnificent buildings, wherein the nobleness of spirit is much discerned, they have exceeded: witness Audlem;* in the first court, there are such pillars as I do not think all Christendom can afford better.

For Overbury to be sent an ambassador, as I remember, it was not to France, but to some meaner place; yet for refusing such an employment, to be imprisoned, is very unjust, and it doth trench much upon the liberties of the subject. Now Somerset doth confess that he had a hand in his imprisonment: now the strictness of our com-

this were done without the participation of my Lord Rochester; a point necessarily involving two different consequences. For if it were done without his knowledge, we must expect of himself either a decadence or a ruin; if not, we must then expect a reparation by some other great public satisfaction whereof the world may take as much notice. These clouds a few days will clear. In the mean while, I dare pronounce of Sir Thomas Overbury, that he shall return no more to this stage, unless courts be governed every year by a new philosophy, for our old principles will not bear it."

To the same, 29th April: (Letters, p. 412:)

"Sir Thomas Overbury is still in the Tower; and the King hath since his imprisonment been twice here, and is twice departed without any alteration in that matter or other greater. My Lord of Rochester, partly by some relapse in his late infirmity, and partly, as it is interpreted, through the grief of his mind, is also this second time not gone with the King. Some argue upon it that disassiduity in a favourite is a degree of declination; but of this there is no appearance, only I have set it down to show you the hasty logic of courtiers."

* Audley End.

mon law is such, that any man concurring in an unjust act, whatsoever follows thereupon, whether mischief or inconvenience, he is accessory thereunto. Suppose a man were wronged, and that he should desire his friend to go with him that he may give the party a bastinado or two to vindicate his honour; his friend goes with him, but when they come together they fall to words and blows, and he murders him;—this friend who did accompany him, with no intent of murdering, yet shall be found accessory of murder, which I must confess is *durissimun*; for the indictment runs, “that thou, not having the fear of God before thine eyes, didst wilfully,” &c.—which cannot be verified, for it was not wilfully, since less was intended. Thus, if a man should cut another man’s finger, wherein there is no danger of death, yet by neglect of the hurt it rankles and the party dies, this will be found to be manslaughter; which indeed is not, for the wound was not mortal, for he dies of his own neglect. It is a great commendation in a judge to be sparing of blood; but that which made most against Somerset was the testimony of Sir Nicholas Overbury, father to Sir Thomas, that he did several times petition him that one of his own servants might attend him, and herein he could never prevail, though it was but a very easy and a reasonable suit, if they had not intended some further mischief against him. And so truly Sir Gervas Elloways had very hard measure; because

after he had heard of the murder intended, he dissuaded Weston and made him a convert, and so he thought he continued; for several times he prevented the poisoning, so then he never knew of the second resolution; and truly I should have acquitted him, especially considering that so many had suffered for the fact, which was sufficient to give an example.*

Here in the marriage of Somerset he begins to fall foul upon the bishops, and that in general, which truly no good Christian would do. And that I may herein speak my certain knowledge concerning the nullity of the marriage between the Earl of Essex and his lady. About a year or two before the marriage was questioned, I did hear from a gentleman belonging to the Earl of Huntingdon, but very well known and a great servant to the Earl of Essex, that the Earl of Essex was fully resolved to question the marriage and to prove a nullity; and I am confident that if the countess had not then at that instant done it, the Earl of Essex himself would have been the plaintiff; so then hereby I conclude that both parties were agreed and were alike interested in the business. After the nullity had past, I went to Dr. Overall, who truly was reputed, and so no doubt was, as great a scholar as any was in the kingdom, and I asked his opinion concerning that nullity, and he told me that he

* See the letters and notes in the second volume.

himself had been with the Bishop of London, Bishop King, to expostulate with him why he should oppose the nullity, together with the Archbishop Abbot, seeing things were so manifest according to the laws of the Church: to whom Bishop King replied, that his only reason of dissent was this, that whereas many things were proved upon oath, yet he could not satisfy his own conscience for the truth of those oaths, though he could not disprove them; but if his own conscience could have been persuaded that the oaths were true, then without exception the nullity must needs follow. Here then was my lord bishop's mistake, that either he did not desire further time to examine those oaths, or otherwise, according to the custom of law, that he had not judged *secundum allegata et probata*; notwithstanding his own timorous conscience, which is not sufficient to countervail their oaths, nor yet to hinder judgment for the deciding of controversies. Hereunto I will add the testimony of the minister of Chiswick, who was with the lady in her last sickness, when she was past hope of life, and speaking with her of this business, she did then protest upon her soul and salvation that the Earl of Essex was never her husband.*

* It would seem, from this and from our author's silence, that little credit is to be given to the scandalous and disgusting account of the death of the countess, as told by Wilson, in his

Here he calls them reverend bawdy bishops;* as a little before he said that their beastly expressions were such as for modesty's sake he would not write them; and yet notwithstanding I did never read a book so full of bawdy. How many men are charged to have mistresses, what words could be more than inspection, . . . &c.?† But the knight is full of contradictions, and a great enemy to Churchmen; yet truly I did once see a very handsome young gentlewoman who, they say, was the knight's daughter, and she was married to a Churchman.

Whereas he sayeth *that we had a noble Queen that did awe Somerset*, and yet before he says how

History of James I. If, indeed, his tale rests upon any basis of truth, it is probable that the humour of that day, of attributing sickness and calamity to express visitations of the Almighty for what presbyterian bigots conceived to be the sins of others, has exaggerated many of the circumstances of the countess's death. The report that Somerset and his wife lived upon bad terms, rests only, as far as I can find, upon the same authority, and therefore must be received with caution. The anxiety of Wilson to please his patron Essex, would of course induce him to shape his narrative in a way most agreeable to the feelings of that earl.

* Such expressions, in so infamous a writer as Weldon, are most sickening and disgusting. Let it be remembered, that Weldon's book was written for and dedicated to a lady; and yet this monster of impurity has never scrupled to introduce into his narrative the most licentious and indecent tales,—to enter upon their details with a minuteness which shows the filthiness and malignity of his heart.

† I have omitted some of the knight's expressions as unfit for publication.

little the King did regard the Queen; surely these things do not agree together. For if the Queen were greater than the favourite, otherwise she could not awe him, then certainly the King could respect her no less than as a dear wife. Now we must distinguish between a reality and an outward ceremony; when Somerset did apparently fall, then all the means were wrought to bring on Mr. George Villiers, which they were not so forward to promote as the King did long to have it effected; and upon a St. George's Day,* the Queen and the Prince being in the bedchamber with the King, it was so contrived that Buckingham should be in some nearness to be called in upon any occasion; and when the Queen saw her own time, he was called in. Then did the Queen speak to the Prince to draw out the sword and to give it her; and immediately with the sword drawn she kneeled to the King and humbly beseeched his Majesty to do her that special favour as to knight this noble gentleman, whose name was George, for the honour of St. George, whose feast he now kept. The King at first seemed to be afraid that the Queen should come to him with a naked sword, but then he did it very joyfully; and it might very well be that it was his own contriving, for he did much please himself with such inventions.

* See Sir H. Wotton's Life and Death of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.



GEORGE VILLIERS 1st DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, K.G.

From the Original by C. Jansons, in the Collection of the Earl of Arundel.

The true fall of Somerset was this,—that love and affection, though they are the strongest passions for the instant, yet they are not of longest continuance, for they are not grounded in judgment, but are rather fancies which follow the eye; and as beauty itself doth decay, so love and affection abate. Take the wisest man; he loves his own children better when they are young than when they are old: so in the best things there is a glut, a surfeit, and a satiety; men are as mean of their pleasures as they are of their labours, and the chief delight which man hath is in change and variety. A man may be gluffed with one favourite, as he is feeding upon one food, though it be manna; therefore to have choice of dishes best pleaseth the palate: so truly I think the King was weary of an old favourite.

Now Sir George Villiers had kept much company with the gentlemen waiters, who sometimes after supper did leap and exercise their bodies. But Buckingham of all others was most active; he had a very lovely complexion; he was the handsomest bodied man of England; his

* The beauty and grace of Buckingham's person have not been overrated. They justly excited the warmest admiration of his contemporaries. Even Bishop Hacket, whose kindly feelings towards the duke were somewhat blunted by his severe treatment of Williams, warms into eloquence when remembering, after an interval of thirty years, the noble graces of his person. Speaking of the duke's arrival in Spain, he says, "In conjunction with the prince, the next planet under him, the lord mar-



C. P. Harding del.

W. Cradock sc.

GEORGE VILLIERS 1st DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, K.G.

From the Original by C. Jansens in the Collection of the Earl of Clarendon.

London, Published by Richard Bentley, 1839.

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limbs so well compacted, and his conversation so pleasing, and of so sweet a disposition. And truly his intellectuals were very great; he had a sound judgment and was of a quick apprehension; inso-much that I have heard it from two men, and very great men, (neither of them had gotten so little as 3,600*l.* per annum by the court,) whom of all men in the world Buckingham had most wronged, yet I heard both these men say and give him this testimony, that he was as inwardly beautiful as he was outwardly, and that the world had not a more ingenious gentleman; or words to the like effect.

quis, had a lustre of much grace and observance darted upon him. At first he was much esteemed, says the intelligencer, (Cabala, p. 16,) and remembered with presents from the bravest of both sexes. Says another, he was a person whose like was not to be seen among the swarthy and low-growthed Castilians. For, as Ammianus describes a well-shaped emperor, *ab ipso capite usque ad unguium summitates recta erat lineamentorum compage*;—from the nails of his fingers—nay, from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head, there was no blemish in him. And yet his carriage and every stoop of his deportment, more than his excellent form, were the beauty of his beauty. Another Sisinnius, as Socrates the ecclesiastic shows him out; τῷ προσώπῳ, τῷ πνεύματι, τῇ ὅλῃ κινήσει ἐθαυμάζετο, the setting of his looks, every motion, every bending of his body was admirable."—Life of Williams, 120. Nor were Buckingham's faults, great as they undoubtedly were, of a deeper dye or more disgusting kind than those of many of his contemporaries. His open and impetuous conduct, and even his haughty waywardness, stands out in refreshing and bold relief, beside the mean, the selfish, the backbiting frequenters of the Court, or the vain and truckling leaders of the Commons.

CHAPTER XIV.

The history of the Prince Palatine and the Thirty Years' War.— Archbishop Abbot's concern in it.—State of Spain and Holland.—Intrigues of Henry the Fourth.—Character of Philip the Second.—The reluctance of James to countenance his Son-in-law in usurping the crown of Bohemia.

HERE the knight comes to the Palsgrave, and in him I will recommend unto you these two considerations: first, his marriage; and secondly, the cause of his fall. The King when he began the treaty had two sons living and one daughter; but before the match was concluded, Prince Henry died. The King, partly of himself, and partly by the counsel of Archbishop Abbot, was persuaded, that if he should match his daughter with a Popish prince, that then there would be nothing but practising, plotting, conspiring, which might tend much to the prejudice of his son and successor; and therefore he did resolve to match with a Protestant prince, as if they were free and innocent, and knew not what did belong to the undermining of states; that he might repose trust in them, for though they lived upon sacri-

lege, yet they would do no injustice,—no, not to get a crown. And at that time, truly I think that among all the Protestant princes there was none so fit, for age, and in all other respects, to match with our princess as the Palsgrave, who was seated in the midst of the Protestants, and had no enemy in his neighbourhood. Thus the match proceeded, first by a contract, and afterward in solemnity; the condition, as it is usually in the matching of princes when they marry in an inferior degree to themselves, that the wife should take place and precedence of her husband, as that ambassadors, when they take their leaves, should first begin with the wife and then with the husband, which shows the honour of their marriage, and that their husbands are bound to observe them: and thus the match was concluded.

Now I come to the unhappiness of this match, where I will begin *a longè*, that you may truly understand the state of things. Some eight score years ago or thereabouts, when the House of Austria had been long in the possession of the empire, and that Frederic the emperor had lived long and very peaceably and in great respect with all the Christian princes, he procured a match for his son Maximilian with the daughter and sole heir of the Duke of Burgundy, by whom he had Philip. So now were the Low Countries annexed to the House of Austria. This Philip

matched with the daughter and heir of Ferdinand King of Castile. Having entered upon the kingdom of Navarre, and being heir to the House of Arragon, God having several ways blessed him in expelling the Moors out of Spain, and in finding out and possessing himself of the rich Indies, Philip died before his father Maximilian; and Maximilian dying, left his father's inheritance, Austria Hapsburgh, to Ferdinand, the youngest son of his son Philip; and the mother's inheritance, which was the Low Countries and Spain, was left to the eldest son, Charles. This he did with great wisdom, knowing that no one man could manage both the provinces, being so remote and so dissipated; and thereby he laid the foundation of that great league which hath ever since continued in the House of Austria.

Upon the death of Maximilian, Francis the French king was a suitor for the empire; but the great love which the princes did bear to Maximilian and Frederic was such that they would choose none but Charles the Fifth. Here now began a little emulation, because Charles the Fifth in his government did seem in effect to enclose the French king on every side: and whereas the French king had ever been esteemed the prime king of Christendom; (for, considering the climate, the fruitfulness of the soil, the number of people, and those staple commodities which that kingdom affords, there is not the like kingdom under the

sun;) now many differences falling out between the Christian king and the king Catholic, their whole time in effect was but a continual war. The French king did challenge Charles to a duel, and Charles was as ready to answer it; but the counsellors on both sides did interpose and would not suffer such cocks to hazard themselves. At length Francis died, and Charles, being weary of the world and of the toils and troubles therein, retired himself to a monastery, leaving his kingdom to his son Philip the Second, who at first prosecuted the war; but in a very short time a peace was concluded, and together it was sealed up with several matches. Philip was to marry a daughter of France, and the Duke of Savoy the French king's sister. At the solemnity of which marriage, Henry the Second, the French king, was killed. Then succeeded young princes, Francis the Second, Charles the Ninth, Henry the Third. What with the Protestants, what with the princes of the blood, and other malcontents, that kingdom was infinitely distracted; during which time Philip the Second had a special influence therein, not for any private respects of his own, but only for religion, and to preserve that a kingdom which otherwise would have shivered in pieces. So Genebrard, an approved historian, doth acknowledge; and it may appear by these two instances.

First, supposing the law Salic, that only the male should succeed in the kingdom; which truly

is a very ambitious law, for thereby they are made, as it were, a seat of an empire, that they might draw in other kingdoms by marriage, whereas none shall rule over them but themselves; though this law may hold in points of government, yet such provinces as have come to the crown by females, it stands with reason that they may go out of the crown with females. Thus Normandy, Anjou, Aquitaine, Brittany, &c. came in by marriages: why might they not go out with daughters? Thus it is well known that the lady Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip the Second and wife of Archduke Albert, was the last general heir of the House of Valois. Then surely she might have claimed some of those provinces, and her father in her right might easily have possessed them and have kept them. Yet he never did so much as once demand them.

Secondly, he concluded a peace much to the benefit of France and to his own disadvantage. For he surrendered up Calais to the French, which the French had formerly taken from him in his wars in the time of Queen Mary; and therefore he might in justice have held it. He likewise might have supported the Catholic league in France, as well as he did remove the siege from Paris; and no doubt but if he would, he might have possessed a good part of that kingdom. Henry the Fourth, the French king, having now a little recovered himself, submitting himself to

the papacy, and concluding a peace with the Spaniards, that kingdom having a little recovered itself, now he bethought himself how to prevent the like inconvenience for the future; and finding that his subjects could have no courage to revolt unless they could have a supporter, for they are wonderfully yoked by laws and exhausted by payments, and that none could support them but the Spaniard, neither could he but as he is strengthened with the league of the House of Austria, therefore the French king, to disenable the Spaniard, resolved, under colour of a debt which he should owe to the Hollanders, to maintain certain regiments, at his own cost and charge, for defence of the Hollanders against the Spaniards, notwithstanding that he had concluded peace with Spain; and the Spaniard took no exception against it, in regard a debt was pretended.

Nor did the French king here rest; but did resolve to break the league of the House of Austria. And to that end, after the solemnity of his own marriage, pretending the coronation of his queen, he raised a mighty great army, no man knew why or wherefore, for he was in league and amity with all princes and states, and was no way provoked nor had any cause to complain, but all princes did honour him. Now upon the sudden to strike a terror into them by such preparation, we could but wonder at it; when presently it pleased God to ease the Christian world.

of that fear by suffering a wicked, cursed villain to assassinate him; and then suddenly all these great preparations did serve to quiet his own kingdom and for his own funerals.

And now that the blow was passed and no longer any fear of that army, we began to conjecture what might be the intent of that wise king in raising that army. And by all likelihood we conceive that it was not against any particular prince, for then he would have proclaimed war, being a just king; nor had it been for his honour to take any man unprovided and upon advantage: but by all likelihood this great preparation was for some peaceable design; that after the solemnity of the Queen's coronation, he had an intent to go into Germany, and there to call the electors and princes together, and to require them to make choice of a king of the Romans, a successor in the empire, and to exclude those of the House of Austria, lest the empire might seem hereditary; and that he held the league in the House of Austria to be prejudicial to himself and to his successors, having then two young sons, and himself well stricken in years; and in regard that he had not been so temperate, not thought to be long-lived.

These were our conjectures; but when as the princes of Germany found the French king took it to heart that the empire should be so long in one family, the princes, as if they were now at

length weary of that government, did desire to take any occasion to oust that family ; for though the French king in his own person died, yet still the reasons of state remained the same. And here they had many rumours, reports, and false alarms ; what was intended by the Emperor to the Protestant princes, and how their liberties were to be infringed, with many such pretty toys : and this to be done by Ferdinand the Second, who in truth was a most pious, virtuous, and moderate prince. Here they took occasion to make a league among the Protestant princes, to be aiding and assisting each other ; and in effect all did subscribe to the covenant, and they made the King of Great Britain their head and protector, and he was likewise to subscribe. I spake with him that did see the writings, and their subscription : they were left with Secretary Naunton, and he was to solicit the business, who had ever been a great enemy to the Spaniard, as his brother Secretary Calvert had ever been a great friend unto them ; and he did procure King James's subscription.

Now, to look a little backward. The reason why the Spaniard was so desirous to have peace with England, and to buy it at so dear a rate, with such gifts and rewards, was because, that if he had once concluded a peace with England, it might be an introduction to draw on a peace with Holland, as indeed it did, and never man in this world could be more desirous of peace than

Philip the Third, the Catholic king, was. For he did offer the Hollanders, to declare them to be free states, and to treat with them as free states, to renounce all his right and title thereunto, though it was undoubtedly his inheritance, upon these two conditions: first, that he might have quietness from them in the rest of his dominions; and this was most reasonable, for otherwise he should arm them to fight against himself: and secondly, that as they gave a toleration to all other religions in Holland, so they should give a toleration to the free exercise of the Catholic religion. And truly herein he did exceed his father, King Philip the Second, who in his wisdom foreseeing that his neighbours the Christian princes did envy his greatness, having the shipping of the Low Countries, and thereby the trading and fishing and strength at sea, together with his Indian mines; and if those princes did not stir up the rebellion, yet he thought they did countenance and nourish it; therefore he thought fit to make a separation and absolutely to part with the Low Countries, so to diminish himself and lessen his own power, as to give his neighbours contentment and to assure them that he did aim at no monarchy of Christendom. For although he was a Catholic king, yet he did not desire to be a king Catholic; therefore he passed away the Low Countries in marriage with his daughter Isabella, and tied them to no other con-

ditions but such as were honourable and tended to a firm league on both sides. And if the Lady Isabella had had issue, it is not unlike but monarchs might have given their helping hand to have brought them to a submission, lest they might have proved an ill example, &c.

After the Spaniard had concluded peace with England, it did follow that the Hollanders did hearken to peace, as was expected they should, and there was a peace concluded for thirteen years. Yet still they kept their armies on foot. The Spaniard for pay of his army had the Indies, which in a time of peace were more profitable unto him, and he sustained less loss; and amongst the Hollanders the soldier would not be disbanded,—he must be kept up that so they might keep up their excise. They wanted their old booties at sea; then began factions at home; old Barnevelt lost his head. Then began the Arminians to stir in the church, which bred much distraction in the state. In the interim, the Emperor seized upon some towns that belonged unto him; and these were seized upon by the help of the Spanish forces, and no doubt but upon occasion they might tend to their great advantage. Thus was the peace much more beneficial to the Spaniard than it was to the Hollander.

And now the term of thirteen years began to expire, the Hollander desired the continuance of the peace; but it would not be granted. So there

was no hope to prevail there. Then they began to concur with the princes of Germany, to see whether stirs might be raised there; for then it was certain that either the Spaniard must divert his course to the help and relief of the Emperor, or the Emperor could not subsist. Hereupon it was so contrived that Bohemia, a kingdom of all others most noted for sedition and revolts, must stand upon their own guard, then desire the protection of others, and at last by degrees to offer up their crown unto others. And first it must be offered to this man or to that man, but at length they fell upon him for whom it was designed, and that was the Prince Palatine, and he forsooth must at first seem to refuse it; then they must use means to his wife, the Lady Elizabeth, to persuade him, that so her father and her friends might be the more engaged to support him therein. Then he receives a message from the Prince of Orange to this effect,—that he was providing a fool's coat for all those that should dissuade him from accepting the crown of Bohemia. And in the interim a message was sent to King James, humbly to crave his advice, whether he should accept the crown of Bohemia or not. But before it was possible that the messenger could return, and, I think, before he received any answer from King James, news came that the Prince had accepted it,* and was gone thither in

* Goodman is perfectly right. If need were, the correctness

person to take the possession, and a day was appointed for the coronation: and both he and the queen were crowned, and thanks in particular were given to the lady for accepting it.*

I have heard that after the loss of Bohemia and other afflictions, that the Lady Elizabeth, to excuse herself, knowing that many English lords and others would visit her at such a time, left a

of this statement might be tested by the letters of the Palsgrave, many of which are preserved among Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian.

* King James seems to have been the only person who retained his senses in this most absurd and foolish affair. It is really astonishing that men should have been so blinded by passion or prejudice as not to have seen through this stale trick of the Hollanders. Could anything be more absurd than the plunging this nation into a war with all the great Continental powers in defence of an unjust title? Unfortunately, the aid of religion was again called in to give success to a stroke of policy, and the propagation of Protestantism and the Gospel were made the pleas for assisting the Palsgrave. "I am satisfied in my conscience," says Archbishop Abbot, "that the cause is just; and when God hath set up the prince, that is chosen to be a mark of honour through all Christendom, to propagate his gospel and to protect the oppressed, I dare not for my part give advice but to follow where God leads. For the means to support the war, I hope *providebit Deus*." This was neither good policy nor good divinity, but was the best argument then used for setting all Europe together by the ears. But the native caution of James and his abhorrence to war saved him from this false step. From the very first he refused to countenance the conduct of his son-in-law, who, in addition to a bad cause, ruined himself by his own misconduct, by his extreme meanness and parsimony. Howell, in one of his letters, written about this time, thus comments upon these transactions; his re-

letter in the window open; and no doubt but some one or other had directions to read it. It was from Archbishop Abbott; and by the letter it did appear that the lady asked his counsel, whether her husband should accept the crown of Bohemia if it were offered unto him. And he persuaded by all means that he should, yet so that he should not acquaint King James beforehand; but when all things were passed, then he doubted

marks are confirmative of Bishop Goodman's narrative: "There is fearful news come from Germany. You know how the Bohemians shook off the Emperor's yoke, and how the great council of Prague fell to such a hurly-burly that some of the imperial counsellors were hurled out at the windows. You heard also, I doubt not, how they offered the crown to the Duke of Saxony, and he waving it, they sent ambassadors to the Palsgrave, whom they thought might prove *par negotio*, and to be able to go through stitch with the work in regard of his powerful alliance; the King of Great Britain being his father-in-law; the King of Denmark, the Prince of Orange, the Marquess of Brandenburg, the Duke of Bouillon, his uncles; the States of Holland his confederates, the French King his friend, and the Duke of Brunswick his near ally. The Prince Palsgrave made some difficulty at first, and most of his counsellors opposed it; others incited him to it, and among other hortatives they told him, *that if he had the courage to venture upon a king of England's sole daughter, he might very well venture upon a sovereign crown when it was tendered him.* And hereunto, that the States of Holland did mainly advance the work, and there was good reason in policy for it; for their twelve years' truce being then upon point of expiring with Spain, and finding our King so wedded to peace that nothing could divorce him from it, they lighted upon this design to make him draw his sword, and engage him against the House of Austria, for the defence of his sole daughter and his grandchildren. What his majesty will do hereafter,

not but the King would so far assist him, if not to keep Bohemia, yet at least to preserve his own inheritance. And at the same time it so fell out, through God's providence, that the archbishop shooting at a deer, did kill the keeper, whereby it might be manifest that he had his hand in blood.

King James upon the hearing of this commanded that none of his subjects should give his son-in-law that title, **THE KING OF BOHEMIA**; for he

I will not presume to foretell; but hitherto he hath given little countenance to the business,—nay, he utterly disliked it at first. For whereas Dr. Hall gave the Prince Palsgrave the title of **KING OF BOHEMIA** in his pulpit-prayer, he had a check for his pains. For I heard his majesty should say, that there is an implicit tie among kings, which obligeth them, though there be no other interest or particular engagement, to stick to and right one another upon an insurrection of subjects; therefore he had more reason against the Bohemians, than to adhere to them in the deposition of their sovereign prince. The King of Denmark sings the same note, nor will he also allow him the title of king. But the fearful news I told you of at the beginning of this letter is, that there are fresh tidings brought how the Prince Palsgrave had a well-appointed army of about 25,000 horse and foot near Prague; but the Duke of Bavaria came with scarce half the number, and notwithstanding his long march, gave them a sudden battle and utterly routed them; insomuch that the new King of Bohemia, having not worn the crown a whole twelvemonth, was forced to fly, with his Queen and children: and after many difficulties, they write, that they are come to the Castle of Castrein, the Duke of Brandenburg's country, his uncle. This news affects both court and city here with much heaviness."—Letters, p. 83. And yet what a deal of waspish censure has King James provoked, from writers who saw no further than the end of their own gray goose-quill, for refusing to embroil this country in a thirty years' war!

did in wisdom foresee that it was a quarrel that would never be ended, not only in respect of the kingdom itself, but as he was an elector of the empire, and that the three princes electors were Protestants; and to them if you will add the King of Bohemia, you give them the casting voice, and so undoubtedly they would exclude the House of Austria. And since the addition of the kingdom of Hungary to the House of Austria, it is verily thought that no prince of the empire is able to protect the empire but those of Austria.

Now how the princes stood affected concerning the kingdom of Bohemia. The Duke of Bavaria, who had ever been an entire friend to the emperor, and was indeed totally a Catholic, resolved to adventure his own person, taking some small security of the emperor for his expense in the war. The Duke of Saxony, who is the most powerful prince in the empire, did utterly dislike this business of Bohemia, and would not assist the Prince. In a word, the kingdom of Bohemia was as easily regained as it was lost. The Prince Palatine had provided store of money,* but, desir-

* Howell mentions an instance of his parsimony, which caused him the loss of his eldest son: "for passing over Haerlem Mere, a huge island slough, in company of his father, who had been at Amsterdam to look how his bank of money did thrive, and coming for more frugality in the common boat, which was overset with merchandize and other passengers, in a thick fog, the vessel turned over, and so many perished;—among others, the young prince."—Letters, p. 177.

ing to husband it well, was sparing; and so it was left for the imperial soldiers. The Palsgrave and his lady had much ado to escape; but by cutting down bridges, and going obscure ways, they came to the Low Countries. And in the interim the Spanish army in the Low Countries having no employment for their master, the peace as yet continuing in Holland, they were brought into the palatinate under the emperor's title, and they made havoc and waste. Some three or four towns did hold out, but they were soon reduced unto the emperor's obedience. The Palsgrave himself gave commission to Count Mansfield, who having no money to pay his soldiers, consequently he had no discipline, and therefore could not long subsist. The Protestant princes who had entered into the league, did not think themselves any way bound for the Bohemian business: but for the preservation of the palatinate some of them did appear, and did much importune King James, who truly was somewhat slow, as fearing lest if he should show himself forward in the business, then the French king would declare himself on the contrary.* And thus is now the

* King James's reluctance to engage himself in a war for the recovery of the palatinate was a fertile subject for the wits and satirists of the age. At one time they represented him with a scabbard without a sword; at another, with a sword which no one could draw out, though many were pulling at it. At Brussels he was pictured with empty pockets hanging out, and his purse turned upside down. In Antwerp, his daughter the Queen of Bohemia was represented like an Irish beggar-woman, with

Palsgrave brought to live upon the King's pension.*

It is true, King James thought by his ambassadors to procure favour for his son-in-law, and to compose the business; and no doubt but he had done it if he had lived, especially if the match with Spain had gone on. This I am very confident of; for even since his death the emperor did offer to instate him in a considerable part of

her hair hanging about her ears and her child at her back, whilst the King her father carried the cradle behind her. (Wilson's Hist. p. 192.) But most of these caricatures were the inventions of the Jesuits, who omitted no occasion of heaping the force of their malice and ridicule upon the King. "Last week," says Howell in one of his amusing letters, "I heard of a play the Jesuits of Antwerp made in derogation, or rather derision, of the proceedings of the Prince Palsgrave, when, among divers other passages, they feigned a post to come puffing upon the stage; and being asked, what news? he answered, how the Palsgrave was like to have shortly a huge formidable army, for the King of Denmark was to send him one hundred thousand, the Hollanders one hundred thousand, and the King of Great Britain one hundred thousand. But being asked, thousands of what? he replied, the first would send him one hundred thousand red herrings; the second, one hundred thousand cheeses; and the last, one hundred thousand ambassadors,—alluding to Sir Richard Weston and Sir Edward Conway, my Lord Carlisle, Sir Arthur Chichester, and lastly, the Lord Digby, who have been all employed in quality of ambassadors in less than two years since the beginning of these German broils." P. 105.—The reader will find in the second volume a letter from Lord Carlisle when he was despatched upon this business to the emperor.

* James allowed his daughter a pension of 1000*l.* a month. A contribution was also made for her throughout the churches in London.

the palatinate: and I do verily believe that upon his submission he should have found much favour. But God hath his providence in all things, and we must submit to his will.*

But whereas the knight writes that if the King had spent half the money in swords as he did in words, for which he was but scorned, it had kept the Palsgrave in his own inheritance and saved much Christian blood; certainly he is better acquainted with court accounts than the accounts of an army. But I do here call to mind what was spent in embassies: I will take the greatest which hath happened in my time, and I will take that where the longest voyage hath been made. The prime earl of the kingdom, the earl marshal, being sent to the emperor for the restitution of the palatinate, upon the death of the Palsgrave and in the behalf of his son, he was allowed towards all his charge and expense not above fourteen thousand pounds. For the embassy which was sent into Persia, where the ambassador should have been abroad about three years, but that he died in the voyage, there was allowed him for the whole charge of his journey but three thousand pounds. Now, take the same earl marshal, when

* "As for the palatinate," says Fuller, "satirical tongues commonly called it the *Land of Promise*; so frequently and so solemnly was the restitution thereof promised to King James, fed only with delays, which amounted to mannerly denials." Of the correctness of this remark we shall see more in the letters in the second volume.

he went general in the first expedition into Scotland, when there was not a shot spent nor a blow given, but all was seemingly composed ; yet, instead of fourteen thousand pounds, it cost a great deal more than eighty thousand pounds. Consider at this time what large sums of money are spent in armies, and you shall find that in all King James' time, which was twenty-two years, there was not so much spent as now there is in a quarter of a year. And whereas the knight says that King James was but scorned for it, truly I did see the emperor's ambassador come hither in a sumptuous and solemn manner only to give the King thanks and to acknowledge the favours received from the King, and to desire to hold all good correspondency, and to engage himself that upon any just occasion he should be ready to recompense the favours received.

But whereas the knight blames my old master that he was so wholly addicted to peace that he would not draw his sword ; show me but any one Christian prince that ever did set forth such a fleet against the pirates as King James did ; wherein I call Sir Robert Mansell to witness, whom he so much esteems. You shall then understand that Algiers itself belongs to the Turk ; so the commission did not reach to take the town, but utterly to destroy the shipping belonging to the town. And whereas some counsellors did put him in mind that this would provoke them, and

that hereafter they would be more eagerly bent against the English than any other nation, the King answered, that he never expected any favour of pirates, but that they would do the worst in their power, as hitherto they had done, and therefore he would send out his navy for the good of Christendom. When I considered this, I did compare it to that navy which Pius Quintus, the pope, sent out, persuading the Spaniard and the Venetian to join with him, under the command of Don John of Austria, at the battle of Lepanto, where in effect they did utterly overthrow all the Turk's navy ; and had other Christian princes seconded them, the Turkish empire had been dissolved before this time only for want of shipping. This happened, as I remember, about the year of our Lord 1564 ; and since that time I never heard of any navy set forth to that purpose but this of King James. — I will give you another instance. I was at court when there came an ambassador from Poland to desire aid and assistance against the Turk. The King gave him a gracious hearing, caused his speech to be printed, gave him as much assistance and furtherance as he did require, and in effect gave him encouragement for more. And this was at the time when he refused to assist his son-in-law, the King of Bohemia. And if you speak of adventuring his own person, truly I have heard that in his younger time he did ride with very great danger.

CHAPTER XV.

Death of Prince Henry.—Suspicion of his having been poisoned unfounded. — His character.—Ingram and Cranfield;—their rise at Court.—Sir Roger Ashton's daughter falls in love with the Duke of Buckingham; but James promotes him, and so breaks the match. — The King's fickleness, illustrated in his change of sentiment respecting the authority of the Church.—His defence of the oath of allegiance.

THAT Prince Henry died not without vehement suspicion of poison, this I can say in my own knowledge. The King's custom was to make an end of his hunting at his house in Havering in Essex, either at the beginning or in the middle of September. Prince Henry did then accompany him. I was beneficed in the next parish, at Stapleford Abbots. Many of our brethren the neighbour ministers came to hear the sermon before the King, and some of us did say, looking upon Prince Henry, and finding that his countenance was not so cheerful as it was wont to be, but had heavy darkish looks, with a kind of mixture of melancholy and choler,—some of us did then say that certainly he had some great distemper in his body; which we thought might proceed from eating of raw fruit, peaches, musk-melons, &c. A

while after, we heard that he was sick, his physicians about him, none of his servants forbidden to come to him ; he spake to them when he knew that he was past hopes of life : he had no suspicion himself of poison ; he blamed no man ; he made a comfortable end. And when he was opened, as I heard, there were found in his stomach some remnants of grapes which were not digested. The chirurgeons and physicians found no sign or likelihood of poison.* But, as for the knight's reason, *that we took the death of Queen Elizabeth so lightly, and therefore God made us an example of scorn, as we were of glory*, I cannot possibly conceive how we should possibly take

* "The lamentation made for him," says Sir S. D'Ewes, "was so general, as men, women, and children partook of it. Frederick the Fifth, Prince Elector and Count Palatine of the Rhine, was then newly come over into England to marry the Princess Elizabeth, his sister, to which match he was a great well-willer, and therefore omitted no occasion by which he might express his affection to the said elector, or by which he might add the greater honour and solemnity to his entertainment. It is not improbable but that he might overheat and distemper himself in some of those sports and recreations he used in his company ; but the strength of his constitution and the vigour of his youth might have overcome that, had he not tasted of some grapes, as he played at tennis, supposed to have been poisoned. He had formerly expressed his distaste against Henry Earl of Northampton, second son of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, and disdained there should be any the least motion of marriage between Theophilus Lord Howard of Walden, the eldest son of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, with the said Princess Elizabeth, his sister. He was a prince rather addicted to martial studies and exercises than to goff, tennis, or other boys plays ; a true lover

her death more heavily than we did. At this very day many churches of London have her monument. And that we should be made a scorn, truly all other princes sought unto us and desired the help of King James. He was the occasion of much peace in the Christian world, and certainly held very good correspondence with all the princes of Christendom. Not any kingdom in the world did flourish so much in building as this kingdom did in his time. The greatest princes of Christendom were ambitious and did desire to match with him; our East Indian trading, which is most profitable and brings in the richest commodities, was ten times greater than it was in the time of Queen Elizabeth; gold in

of the English nation, and a sound Protestant, abhorring not only the idolatry, superstition, and bloody persecutions of the Romish synagogue, but being freed also from the Lutheran leaven which had then so far spread itself in Germany, and hath since ruined it. He esteemed not buffoons and parasites, nor vain swearers and atheists; but had learned and godly men, such as were John Lord Harrington and others, for the dear companions of his life: so as, had not our sins caused God to take from us so peerless a prince, it was very likely that Popery would have been well purged out of Great Britain and Ireland by his care, and that the Church of God had not suffered such shipwreck abroad as it hath done for near upon these sixteen years last past."—D'Ewes' MS. Journal, p. 16.

A long narrative of his sickness has been printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*; and the professional account of it, among the works of the King's physician, Sir Theodore Mayerne. There is not the shadow of a doubt for supposing his death to have been otherwise than natural. See also this volume, p. 107.

our ordinary payments was far more plentiful; and while all the Christian world was in wars, he alone governed his people in peace. He was a most just and good king, and we were then far from any scorn.

But to return to the death of Prince Henry. How incredible is it that we Churchmen should discern by his countenance a dangerous distemper in the beginning of September, and that he should die the 4th of November following! Do poisons use to have such a lingering operation? No, surely; they make a quicker despatch, and nature cannot resist them. I would I could say as much for the death of King James; for I confess I have no good opinion of his death, yet I was the last man who did him homage in the extremity of his sickness.

As to the report that Prince Henry should say that he would not have one of the Howards, I do not remember that ever any one of the Howards did displease him. I confess that the prince did sometimes pry into the King's actions and a little dislike them. A knight told me the tale that he was privily sent by Prince Henry to see how the royal navy was ordered; what defects there were, and to be a spy upon them; and no doubt but he had others in the Signet Office. Some about him did put these thoughts into him,* and no doubt but he had heroical in-

* In consequence of this, some of his attendants were dis-

tentions. He spoke to Dr. Hayward, and put him on the writing of the lives of our Kings; and truly I think he was a little self-willed, which caused the less mourning for him. The Queen did ever love Charles better than Prince Henry; and I have heard that the prince did sometimes abuse the King's servants, which the King took ill.*

missed, whilst others were received into the household of Prince Charles.

* These remarks will doubtless sound harsh in the ears of the injudicious panegyrists of this prince. Johnstons the historian has preserved an anecdote very characteristic of the ambitious hopes and temper of Prince Henry. In the year 1611, when he was seventeen years of age, the Prince requested the King that he might preside at the privy council. This was seconded by Rochester, the king's favourite; but Sir Robert Cecil, who dreaded the power of the prince and opposed Rochester's measures, observed, that it was impolitic to divide the government and invest the son with the authority of the father. The opinion of Sir Robert Cecil swayed the rest of the council, and the prince's request was refused. Shortly after, Sir Robert, in a conversation with the prince, attributed this denial to the influence of Rochester, against whom the prince ever after conceived so great and lasting a resentment, that he refused to hear the justification which Rochester attempted to offer.

Birch discredits this anecdote: he alleges the improbability of the prince endeavouring to thrust himself into public business. But surely it is not inconsistent with the prince's conduct, who employed agents both at home and abroad to procure intelligence of the proceedings of the different courts, and who evinced the greatest curiosity on this head, as may be seen by his correspondence, still preserved in the British Museum.

Like all other princes who die young, he seems to have been greatly overrated, and his biography written from suspicious authorities. Two anecdotes which have been frequently repeat-

Now the knight says that two mean fellows, grand projectors, were brought into the court; Ingram and Cranfield. I will speak of these severally. For Sir Arthur Ingram* I knew him only by sight; and that he should call him a mean fellow, I wonder at it. I know that he did match into the family of the Grevilles, and that his father-in-law had no less than three thousand pounds per annum. When he lived in Westminster, I know that no man was so charitable to prisons as he was by a weekly benevolence. The King when he came to York was lodged in his house, and he hath matched his daughter into an honourable family, the son of an earl; and there-

ed are by no means favourable to his character. His observation, that no one but his father would ever think of keeping such a bird as Raleigh in a cage — his cruel repartee to his brother Charles, who suffered from weakness in the legs, whom he frequently provoked to tears, are sufficient to swamp a ship-load of shining qualities. "I will be a king," said he, "and Charles shall be an archbishop, for then he will have a long gown to hide his legs." The truth is, Prince Henry never arrived at that great test of temper and principles, supremacy in power. He was popular, because, in their estimate of princes, men are more guided by specious qualities which captivate their fancies, than by those real excellences which, though more solid, are less striking;

"And give to dust that is a little gilt,
More laud than gold o'er-dusted."

* Lloyd gives the following account of him: "Sir Arthur had wit in Italy, where he was a factor, and wealth in London, where he was a merchant, to be first a customer, then a cofferer to that king, who had this happiness, that he understood so much of all his affairs, as to make a judgment of what persons

fore he was not to be termed a mean fellow. And whereas he saith that, like ill birds, they defiled their own nests and discovered the secrets of the Custom-house ; it should seem the knight forgets himself that he was a courtier, and no man did ever defile his own nest more than he hath done ; I will further add, more falsely and more unjustly, for he calls it an academy of jugglers. And first, in my certain knowledge, one of these, Sir Lionel Cranfield, had never a hand in the Custom-house, and did utterly dislike the courses which were then taken. But for Sir Arthur Ingram, it is true, that out of course he was made a cofferer of the King's house ; for the

might be most serviceable to him in each of them. So pragmatical a person as this gentleman was necessary among the Custom-house men, who were about to engross all the wealth of the kingdom, and as useful among the Green-cloth men, who shared amongst themselves vast concealments. The activity of his head had undone him, had not the odium of it been allayed by the discretion of his tongue ; whatever he spake being naturally accompanied with such a kind of modesty and affability as gained the affection and attracted the respect of all that conversed with him ; only some wary men were jealous of that watchful and serene habit he had attained to in every conference and action, as well to observe as to act : though it was more than they needed, he having not that good stay and hold of himself, his much observing tempting him to much meddling, though never more need of it than at that time, when ninety and odd thousand pounds were spent upon the Palsgrave ; to reimburse which money, he set up the improvement of the coin, the farthings, the borrowing of money of the customers, and as many other projects to get money as others had to spend it." —State Worthies, ii. 85.

ordinary course was in court that they should rise by degrees from one office to another. Where you shall observe that the ordering of the King's house was first contrived by Cardinal Wolsey, and so for their wages and allowance for diet and the like, and truly in a more magnificent manner than the court of any prince in Christendom, where the officers were to rise by degrees until they came to the Green-cloth. Thus the superior, knowing the inferior's office, was able to direct him; and the inferior, looking to rise, was therefore the more diligent; and thus old servants were ever rewarded. And to insist in the meanest and basest office of the King's house, I do verily believe that the officers of the slaughterhouse had amongst them the better part of two hundred pounds per annum. But now if you will suppose that honesty should fail amongst men, then I confess this order is accompanied with an inconvenience that every man should hide and conceal each other's faults, and that there should be a kind of conspiracy and combination to cozen and cheat their master, and this to be accompanied with such intricate and involved accounts, that to him that is a perfect artist, a good arithmetician, he shall not be able to conceive the mysteries with a week's study. If then sometimes an extraordinary man should be put into the pack who might discover their close dealing, truly to an honest plain-dealing man it will not seem a

great inconvenience : but here he must encounter with the multitude ; all that are of his own rank and condition will oppose him ; they that are before, and they that come behind, like so many wasps, shall encounter him, and certainly he shall never have any quietness or rest.

That Sir Lionel Cranfield should oppose Buckingham or seek to undermine him, it is utterly untrue, and I speak it from his own mouth. Now for the descent of Mr. George Villiers : * whereas the knight seems to disparage his mother ; the truth is, she was descended of the Beaumonts, as ancient a family as his father. It may be, she had no great portion ; but what was wanting therein, she did supply abundantly by her beauty, her carriage, her good disposition, and might very well be the mother of such a favourite : and I have heard, that while he was in his travels,

* The observations of Sir Henry Wotton are not inapposite. " I find him born," says Sir Henry, " in the year of our Saviour 1592, on the 28th of August, at Brooksby in Leicestershire, where his ancestors had chiefly continued about the space of four hundred years, rather without obscurity than with any great lustre, after they had long before been seated in Kinalton in the county of Nottingham. He was the third son of George Villiers, Knight, and Mary late Countess of Buckingham, and daughter to Anthony Beaumont of Coleorton, Esq. ; names on either side well known of ancient extraction. And yet, I remember there was one," (Sir Henry alludes to the same person as Goodman,) " who, in a wild pamphlet which he published, besides other pitiful malignities, would scarce allow him to be a gentleman."—Life of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

such as had any occasion to converse with him, both English and strangers, did ever conceive that opinion of him, that he was a rising man; his own mild disposition, together with his comeliness, did presage so much. So I commend the daughter of Sir Roger Aston that she did so affect him. Therein she did not mistake in judgment; but it should seem the King did prevent her.*

For those sports and merriments which Sir Edward Zouch and others did use before the King, to my best remembrance they began when the King was full of sorrow upon the loss of the palatinate, and many breaches with the parliament. When he considered his own estate, how it was exhausted and mispent by those unto whom he intended most good, then, as it falls out with great understandings in whom such like accidents do make the deepest impression, — then, to prevent melancholy and for avoiding sorrow, I confess the good King gave way to such like sports. And truly, Zouch, Goring, and Phinet had wit enough to make honest mirth without fooleries: such as know them will say it.

That Secretary Winwood should not keep the signet, therein he could take no greater exceptions than his predecessor, Salisbury, did. It is

* Sir Henry Wotton mentions his becoming a suitor to the daughter of Sir Roger Aston, but that he was drawn off from the match by Sir John Graham, a gentleman of the privy-chamber, who advised him to prosecute his fortune at court. She married elsewhere shortly after.

fit that the signet* should ever accompany the king's person, and therefore to be in the custody of the favourite. I have received a letter from King James, and the signet to it; yet the letter never came near the secretary, for many private letters and passages there were which bed-chamber men did despatch. I have heard that Somerset was well paid for Winwood's office by the Hollanders; and Winwood finding that the Howards did rather incline to the Spaniard, it is not unlike but he might practise to remove Somerset.†

* See before, p. 42.

† There is probably a good deal of truth in this. The earnestness displayed by Winwood for discovering the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and the known fact that one of the principal charges against Somerset was a private intercourse with the Spaniards, gives an air of probability to the statement. James, in his letters to Bacon, in which he gives directions how Bacon should proceed in the charge against Somerset, displays considerable anxiety for the full examination of this point.—The discovery of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, which gave occasion to Somerset's fall, has been attributed to various persons. D'Ewes coincides with Goodman. "It came first to light," he observes, "by a strange accident of Sir Ralph Winwood, Knight, one of the Secretaries of State, upon his dining with Sir Jervis Elvis, at the Earl of Shrewsbury's table, not far from Whitehall. For that great man commending the same Sir Jervis to Sir Ralph Winwood, as a person, in respect of his many good qualites, very worthy of his acquaintance; Sir Ralph answered him, that he should willingly embrace his acquaintance, but that he could first wish he had cleared himself of a foul suspicion the world generally conceived of him touching the death of Sir Thomas Overbury. As soon as Sir Jervis heard

While the knight is now busy in relating the manner of Somerset's fall, all which in effect before he had discovered very sufficiently, I will now tell you how some do blame my old master, who is now with God; and truly I cannot altogether excuse him. The King, to show his great wisdom and learning, wrote many books, to his eternal memory and commendation: but sometimes others do accuse him that he was not constant to his own tenets; for, first, he main-

that, being very ambitious of the Secretary's friendship, he took occasion to enter into private conference with him, and therein to excuse himself to have been enforced to connive at the said murder: with much abhorring of it, he confessed the whole circumstance of the execution of it in general, and the instruments to have been set on work by Robert Earl of Somerset and his wife. Sir Ralph Winwood having gained the true discovery of this bloody practice from one of the actors, even beyond his expectation, parted from the Lieutenant of the Tower in a very familiar and friendly manner, as if he had received good satisfaction by the excuse he had framed for himself, but soon after acquainted the King's majesty with it."—MS. Journal, f. 21.

He afterwards states, that when Somerset upbraided Winwood with ingratitude for having been the instrument of his ruin, to whom he was indebted for his Secretary's place, Winwood answered, that for his Secretary's place he might thank 7000*l*. A charge which I do not believe: since, whatever else may have been his crimes, Somerset was not guilty of grasping after money.

The whole account given by D'Ewes of this unhappy affair requires sifting, and the authority for his assertions set in a clear light; for at the time of these entries in his Diary, he was only thirteen years old, and was by far too much of a gossip to be implicitly trusted.

tained that no man had power in the Church but the King. Now, seeing that kings hold their crowns either by descent, or by election, or by conquest, and that all these were natural respects, it was indeed to make religion natural, so that the heathen and gentiles who had true kings, their kings should be governors of the Christian Church, who were so far from the knowledge and profession of Christianity as that they were the greatest persecutors. Archbishop Cranmer did affirm in my certain knowledge, for I can produce a record for it, that Christ and his Apostles had no power in the Church, because they had not their power from the temporal magistrates, and therefore what power they had was only by preaching, persuasion, and no otherwise: and no doubt but he would have held that even they could not do so much, but only by the license of the temporal magistrate; for he held that the consecration of bishops was but a needless ceremony, and he was completely a bishop whom the King did nominate a bishop. This was his opinion; which must needs infer that religion was then only natural, and had no higher descent.*

This opinion King James forsook, and then began to insist that the Church had no power over

* Cranmer, at one time of his life, held Erastian tenets: but either Goodman has misrepresented the Archbishop's sentiments, or else he modified them himself afterwards, which is probable.

kings, as being God's vicegerents here on earth.* It should seem, he did remember those factious and mutinous ministers in Scotland who did ever oppose the King in all his actions; insomuch that one of them in the pulpit reprehending the King, the King had not the patience to stay until the sermon was ended, but the King stood up and cried to him, "Man of God! man of God! thou hast here accused me; I must be heard to speak in my own defence; thus it is, herein thou art mistaken." So there was a disputation between them before the auditory. But from this opinion the King did afterwards decline; for either they must be shepherds or sheep in Christ's flock, for certainly Christ did institute a government in his Church which is the prime post of wisdom and is most necessary for the preservation of the Church, and without which the Church would instantly fall to confusion. Now, if kings

* Fuller has preserved an anecdote respecting James which illustrates this observation of Goodman. "An extraordinary act in divinity was kept at Cambridge before King James, wherein Dr. John Davenant was answerer, and Dr. Richardson, amongst others, the opposer. The question was maintained in the negative, concerning the excommunicating of kings. Dr. Richardson vigorously pressed the practice of St. Ambrose excommunicating the Emperor Theodosius, insomuch that the King in some passion returned, *Profecto fuit hoc ab Ambrosio insolentissime factum*. To whom Dr. Richardson rejoined, *Responsum vere regium et Alexandro dignum; hoc non est argumenta dissolvere, sed disecare*. And so, sitting down, he desisted from any further dispute."—Worthies, 158.

be the pastors and governors of Christ's Church, they must needs have their commission from Christ, as the Apostles had, who left and conferred it upon their successors.

Here the King began to confess, that kings might be excommunicated, for there can be no government without censures, and such as are under the government must needs be under the censure. But here the King stoutly affirmed that the Church should rest in the excommunication, and proceed no further. But then it was answered, that this were to make the censures of the church ridiculous ; for to such as were irreligious and cared not for excommunications, there was no way left either to punish them or to reform them. Thus, in dealing with subjects after the excommunication, there follows the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* ; and it doth not only extend to imprisonment, but even to the taking away of life, for there is another writ, *de heretico comburendo*. So that not only by the laws ecclesiastical, but by the laws temporal and even the laws of this nation, the censures of the Church are not to end in excommunication. And even the Scottish Church puts men to shame, and makes them sit in a chair, while others stand laughing and hooting at them. And truly the Church of Scotland was lately very ambitious, as it may appear by their leagues and covenants, to reduce the Church of England to the form and order of their discipline.

Their lay elders were to be a committee for the propagation of the Gospel.* But what a disparagement and dishonour had it been to the English to be their apes! *ab Aquilone omne malum, insulares septentrionales in angulo mundi, et vulgus scilicet, idque novissimis temporibus*; that the Scots or Scythians should take upon them to make a reformation in the Church of England. They began our wars, and I hope they will end the wars. They came to demand justice, and they have had justice to an inch, for now the best and greatest part of Scotland is under the protection of the parliament. As formerly they paid huge sums of money to enrich them, so now they have sent great armies to protect them.

Here the King wrote in defence of the oath of allegiance, that it did only contain civil obedience, and therefore in right did belong to all temporal princes; and as God had given him learning and wisdom above other princes, so he did employ all his best abilities to maintain their right, and therefore he dedicated this book to the Emperor, and to all Christian kings. Which book some princes did lovingly accept, especially such as gave toleration to religion; as the French King. But such as were strict Catholics did re-

* The ambitious and political character of these Scottish associations, or, as they termed them, congregations, may be seen by the extracts from their letters and other documents published by Bishop Bancroft in his "Dangerous Positions."

fuse to accept it, and the rather because therein he labours to prove the Pope Antichrist. But they refused the book in the best manner, showing all fair respects to the King.

The manner how the Archduke Albert at Brussels carried himself was thus: — Sir Thomas Edmonds, then our ambassador there, did desire to have audience. The archduke and his council, knowing very well that he would then tender the book, some of the council came to him and did signify unto him, that he should have audience when he pleased; but if his intent were to present the King's book, they did desire him to forbear, for that it concerned religion, and the archduke was already settled in his opinion, and might not admit any disputation or persuasion to the contrary. This was suddenly spoken to our ambassador, who not having any time to advise, did still desire audience; but afterward advising with himself and foreseeing that the public refusal of the book would a little disparage his master, he did therefore forbear the audience, and so disappointed the archduke and put a little scorn upon him. When his whole court was expecting and preparing to receive the ambassador, suddenly word came that the ambassador would not accept his audience.* Where

* See Henry Wotton, who got into similar difficulties at Venice about the King's book, managed less wisely. See Winwood, iii. 77.

you must observe, that ambassadors, not only in civility and courtesy, but likewise for their own profit, do desire to comply with those princes with whom they are resident, and from whom they receive good gifts and rewards, sometimes as gossips, but always at their departure. Thus, while Sir Thomas Edmonds was ambassador at Brussels, the Archduchess Isabella was godmother to his daughter, there born, to whom she gave her own name, who afterwards was married to the Lord Delaware. So while he was ambassador in France, the French King and the Queen Regent were gossips to another of his daughters, whom they named Louisa-Maria, implying both their names.

Now for answer of the King's book concerning the oath of allegiance, it was replied that the Church and State were incorporated, and therefore could not admit a divorce. The Church did some time implore *brachium seculare*, for their protection and for the execution of their canons; and hence it is that kings are called *Nutricii*, and queens are nurses to the Church; but they are not parents of the churches, to beget new and new churches as they please. So the Church hath an influence upon the State, not with any ambitious eye or with any temporal respect to enter upon the possessions or inheritance, but preserving them in their temporals the Church hath the only power *in ordine ad spiritualia*; only so far forth as

it may preserve the Church and conduct them to their last end, to which man's temporal life is but a passage. Thus the heavens do encompass the earth : and which way soever you go, still the heavens are before you, and their light must serve to direct you, their influence to quicken you ; and though the heavens do not remove mountains, but suffer Nature to work according to her own course, yet sometimes we find that, through God's just judgment, there have been great inundations for the overthrow of nations upon extraordinary occasions, our sins so requiring it ; and we know there hath been a general deluge for the destruction of the whole world, and God doth use the moon and the stars in the government of the sea and of waters ; but things which are of an extraordinary condition, they are not to fall within the compass of an ordinary disputation. We must rather desire of God in our prayers to prevent such a mischief, that there may be no difference betwixt Church and State ; for if they once prove desperate, it will tend to the ruin of mankind.

Here then at length King James fell to the opinion of Queen Elizabeth, which she had declared in her proclamations and injunctions, that she required no further power in the Church but what the kings amongst the Jews had and did continually practise, and what the Christian kings in the primitive age did continually exercise ; and this most undoubtedly did belong to the Crown,

for Christ was descended of the tribe of Judah : he came to give the kingdom of heaven, and not to abolish the kingdoms on earth. So herein King James being not opinionate, or confiding too much to his own judgment, he became a conqueror and had the better of his adversaries.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Author's reflections on the doctrine of passive obedience : disapproves of it ;—why upheld. — Private history of Lord Chancellor Egerton.—Favoured by the Earl of Leicester. — Chancellorship of Sir Thomas More ;—Of Sir Francis Bacon, who visits Egerton in his sickness ;—his behaviour on that occasion.—Anecdote of Bacon and Winwood.—Bacon's extravagance. — Chancellor Williams. — Munificence of Laud and Williams.

KING JAMES, not interposing any further in controversies of religion, began now to teach subjects their loyalty and obedience, and that they were subject wholly to the king who immediately, under God, was to govern them. And to this end, there came forth a book entitled “ God and the King ;”^{*} wherein were many opinions tending wholly to the advancing of regality ; as, that kings receive their regality wholly from God, that the church and the people confer nothing to their power. Now, seeing that all kings have not alike power, all have not alike bounds and limitations, but some kings are more absolute than others ;

^{*} In 1615: said to be written by Dr. Mocket, Warden of All Souls.

therefore it must either be showed where God made the difference, or else the difference must be ascribed to some other, and consequently the power: and if the power be transferred, then surely for the abuse of the power and for exercising any tyranny princes are to be accomptable; and being accomptable, it must not be only in shows and words, but such a course may be taken as may tend to reformation; for it is not credible that God should create millions of millions to serve one prince, but only the office of a prince is erected to preserve those millions. This King James did acknowledge by giving this motto on his coin—*salus populi suprema lex*; and therefore those were but opinions of some others, who in their falsehood and flattery did broach them to the infinite prejudice of kings, for it made them odious, and made the people rather desire to be governed by a representative body. These flatterers proceeded further, that if princes should intend to destroy their subjects, yet their subjects were bound to obey them; yea, further, if they should destroy all religion and labour as much as they could to bring in atheism, yet their subjects had no other way to resist them but with their prayers and tears unto God.

These were strange and lying positions; for certain it is that all natural perfections, whatsoever they are, rooted in nature, that is, *in genere humano*,—that as all other creatures do

subsist, and have that natural instinct to preserve themselves, so mankind hath the like, and as it cannot preserve itself without government, so, no doubt, the right of government is in mankind, which is transferred upon others in trust. Thus are there several forms of government, and all alike justifiable. Some have greater power, some have less; and as this proceeds from mankind, so must it ever be supposed for the good of mankind: so that as it is the efficient cause to settle and order a government, so is it the final cause to which the government must be directed; and by virtue hereof in regard of direction there is still a power left in mankind to correct or control the government, and to reassume it if things cannot be otherwise remedied and mischiefs prevented. For magistrates are but as feoffees in trust; yet usually they have their charter of continuance, not *durante beneplacito*, for this were of a most pernicious and dangerous consequence, for in every moment it would threaten innovation, but, according to the rules of wisdom and constancy, they are feoffees in trust *quam diu se bene gesserint*. So that they have as good a right and title to their government as they have to their inheritance; for they may forfeit the one as well as the other upon any great crimes committed. And having this right in government, unless upon just cause it is as great a sin to deprive them of their government as to deprive them of

their inheritance ; nay, a far greater sin, in regard of the greater concernment and the public obligation.

But wherefore should King James give way to such flatterers, who did put such exorbitant power in kings ? Surely it is a rule in policy, *iniquum petamus ut æquum feramus*,—we must demand more than is due, that we may obtain our due ; and this did alike serve as a memorial to both his kingdoms.

In Scotland the revenues of the crown, the power and privileges of the crown, are so diminished as that they will not serve to maintain that government which will give them protection, and therefore the King with his English ships and his English revenue must serve to protect them. For during his time, though it may be I have inquired, yet I could never hear of any great sums that came out of that kingdom ; and not only at home, but abroad among foreign nations, such privileges and immunities as were bought and purchased by our merchants, the Scots, as being now under the same government, did partake with us. So in truth it was a happy union unto them.

Now for the English, it was thought to be a fit doctrine for them, in regard of the many breaches the King had with his parliament, and to settle and accustom the English in their old obedience ; for I might boldly say, that not any

kingdom under the sun was so legally settled and strengthened, and by all likelihood might have been of so long a continuance, as the kingdom of England. For the king had in his own power the justitia, which he did execute by constituting his judges; and the militia by his lieutenants; and both these were assigned *durante beneplacito*. The high sheriff, who for executing writs and for suppressing riots and rebellions, and therefore had *posse comitatus*, his office was annual. All the lands in the kingdom either mediately or immediately were held from the crown; insomuch that I heard a very honest and a very understanding man say, that he heard my Lord Chancellor Egerton deliver this in Chancery, — that if men's estates were looked into, he did not know that man in all England whose land was not liable to wardship. And here the Court of Wards was such a tie upon the subject as no king in the world ever had the like: and how much this Court of Wards hath been improved may appear by this, — that the register's office there was of six times greater value than it was. At my knowledge, a feodary's place, which in my remembrance was but the place of a servant, and for which was usually given not above thirty or forty pieces, came after to be sold for three or four hundred pounds; and, as I have been credibly informed, the last master of the Wards took seven hundred pounds. Then

had the King all the forts in his own hands ; and all the strength of shipping and power at sea was in his own hand. Then for a revenue and good lands, no prince of Christendom had the third part of that which he had at his first coming to the crown : besides the number of parks, chases, forests, all the cities and boroughs of the kingdom had their charters from him. In the city of London he had two houses, the Tower in the east, and Whitehall in the west ; and between these two houses he had his Custom-house, which did yield him five hundred thousand pounds per annum. In effect, he had the gift of all offices, and did lay what customs and impositions he pleased upon all that went out or came into the kingdom. To speak in mine own profession, the king's printer's office was better worth than four thousand pounds per annum ; the secretary's place at the council of the Marches was worth more than what we may think of ; the general attorney, who was the king's scourge, and then the court of Star-chamber was able to undo any man, — the very attorney in that court did constantly pay one thousand five hundred pounds for that office. And now what shall I say for the penal laws, which were numberless and intolerable ? In truth, the Welsh princes, the Tudors, who began with Henry the Seventh and ended with Queen Elizabeth, they did wonderfully yoke the subject to laws. And to these I may add the royal

prerogative, which had ever this condition annexed, *quam argui nolumus*. And truly in respect of foreign nations, as we were freed from those continual wars and contentions which did befall the continent of the world, so were we by God's goodness and providence much secured by our quicksands, our rocks and dangerous seas.

But I forget myself; only I presumed upon the reader's patience, while the knight is describing the hawking of Sir Thomas Mounson, the dancing of the ladies, and Forman's book of telling fortunes, and the like stories, which I thought to be impertinent, not worth the insisting upon.

For the taking of the great seal from my Lord Chancellor Egerton, it is certain that his lordship did desire to end his old age in God's service and in devotion; and to that end he did often say, that he had served Queen Elizabeth so long, he had served King James so long, and now he did very much desire that he might serve God the rest of his time, and so for eternity. He was a man of very great parts, and in his younger time catholicly affected, which made him to practise in the Marches of Wales and to come very seldom up to London. He married one of the Ravenscrofts family, and did ever stand very much affected to his wife's kindred. In his practice at the Marches, it fell out so that the Earl of Leicester, Robert Dudley, and some other counsellor, having some business there, their soli-

citor did retain Mr. Egerton for counsel, who took good pains and was very careful in the business, and, as I take it, refused his fees, and used the solicitor very courteously. Mr. Egerton having some occasion to come to London, especially when he could be well spared at Ludlow, came to the solicitor, who would needs bring him to the Earl of Leicester, to be known to him, and that his lordship might give him thanks for his great pains. His lordship did so; and conferring and advising with him, he found him a very wise, discreet man; and he was likewise a very comely, proper man in person. Then did my lord tell him, that if he would come and practise in London, he would come and use his help in some things and do him what good he could: this gave him occasion to come and practise in London. Very shortly after, he was made the Queen's solicitor; and then fell out the business about the Queen of Scots: and when he had objected that the Queen had an intent to pass over her kingdom to some other foreign prince, then did Mr. Egerton desire the lords to take it into consideration in what case they should be if such a thing were effected. A little after the master of the Rolls died, and then, as the fashion was, these men who were the principal agents in her death did ever labour to raise up and so bring into great place such other inferior men as were employed in that business, and then was Mr. Eger-

ton made master of the Rolls; and, a little after, the Lord Keeper Puckering dying, Mr. Egerton was made lord keeper: and then he complaining that he was but a poor man, and that the lord keeper's place was but small in respect that the charge was very great, he made shift to keep both places, to be both master of the Rolls and lord keeper. The Rolls was taken from him a little after the coming in of King James.

And here, because I shall have occasion to treat of several lord chancellors and several lord treasurers, I think it not impertinent to speak a little of their offices. There is not in the whole Christian world so great and so powerful a magistrate as is the lord chancellor of England. There are, I confess, other chancellors, and they may have a larger extent in respect of the kingdoms, but they do not equal this chancellor in power. First, he is the great commander of all the laws in the kingdom; he sends out injunctions, and may draw all causes into his own court; he hath precedence of all, excepting the Archbishop of Canterbury: usually he doth recommend all judges and officers; but if he doth not, yet he appoints the judges their circuit, and they do much depend upon his favour. He nominates all the justices of the peace and quorum throughout the whole kingdom; he appoints the *custos rotulorum*, and nominates the clerks of the peace. He is tied to no laws, but orders all things as he

pleaseth.—Thus far in the common law. Now, in the spiritual law, he is in effect the king's vicar-general; for so there was such an office in King Henry the Eighth's time.* He nominates two doctors of delegates, and to that court they may appeal from all spiritual courts. At council-board he hath a great hand in commission. No grants must pass but under the great seal, where he may give it a stoppage and much retard the business. He hath the gift of all the King's livings under the rate of twenty pounds per annum, and in effect nominates most commissioners. And in regard of the King's ecclesiastical power, I have known a lord keeper who hath much intruded upon the office of a bishop: he excepted to the resignation of a benefice in my diocese, and I do believe that if the times had served he would have given institution only upon this ground, that by statute the pope's power is transferred upon the King, and whatsoever the pope did the King may do, and the lord chancellor would execute it in the King's right. And thus you have the power of that great officer. Though other kingdoms may be larger, yet no other kingdom hath so many suits depending in law as this hath: neither hath any other chancellor a court of delegates for ecclesiastical business but only this.

Heretofore this great office was altogether executed by Churchmen; and to whom should a

* Held by Cromwell.

Christian king recommend the discharge of his conscience but to a priest? Of late years, they say the lawyers have so entangled it in the grounds and rules of law, as that none is fit to discharge it but only a common lawyer. The Churchmen conceive that it is necessary that this great officer ought to be acquainted with cases of conscience, to see how every circumstance be duly weighed, and how they do alter and vary. It is certain it never hath been so well ordered as by Churchmen; and it was a great honour and support to their profession, and so accordingly in the practice of religion. When Henry VIII. intended to overthrow the Church, then did he put out Churchmen from sitting at the stern; then was the chancellorship taken away from Cardinal Wolsey and the seal given to Sir Thomas More; then was the Chancery so empty of causes that Sir Thomas More could live in Chelsea and yet very sufficiently discharge that office; and coming one day home by ten of the clock, whereas he was wont to stay until eleven or twelve, his lady came down to see whether he was sick or not; to whom Sir Thomas More said, "Let your gentlewoman fetch me a cup of wine, and then I will tell you the occasion of my coming:" and when the wine came, he drank to his lady, and told her that he thanked God for it he had not left one cause in Chancery, and therefore came home for want of business and employment there."

The gentlewoman who fetched the wine told this to a bishop, who did inform me ; and when Sir Thomas More found that the taking away of that office from the Church was a preparative to overthrow the Church, then did he make means to resign up his office ; and being now at good leisure, he wrote in the behalf of the Church. He that succeeded him was Audley, who was a very needy man, and had little but what he got by the spoils of the Church ; and in his time was the suppression of abbeyes and monasteries. Queen Mary brought it again to the Church, and made Bishop Gardiner her chancellor, to whom the Lord Henry Howard, so often mentioned in his books, lived in his house as a page, and to whom until his dying day he was wont to give a very honourable testimony for his piety and justice ; and he dying, Queen Mary nominated Dr. Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, by whose counsel and direction the death of Queen Mary was kept secret until he himself, according to his office, being speaker of the lords' house in parliament, did reveal her death, and nominated Queen Elizabeth to succeed, which she did very well requite ; for the same week, she put him out of his office, and the same year she put him out of his bishopric, and after thirty-eight years she made a law to make good that deprivation, and to justify her own act, which it should seem before that law was made might have been questioned.

Thus, when the bishops had it, they did make no such purchases nor left such great estates as since the chancellors have done; but they lived upon their church preferments, little respecting the profits of that office.

After Heath succeeded Sir Nicholas Bacon,* who then was, as I remember, attorney of the Court of Wards, and in Queen Mary's time did live in the College of Westminster. His daughter, my Lady Piriam, wife to the lord chief baron, told me the tale that she was there when the priest was wounded at the time of mass. This I write because the Dean of Westminster,† then Bishop of Lincoln, succeeded his son in the chancellorship.

Now for the profits of these two great offices, the chancellor and treasurer, certainly they were very small if you look to the ancient fees and allowance; for princes heretofore did tie themselves to give but little, that so their officers and servants might more depend upon them for their

* Who retained his office for about eighteen years. He was so extremely corpulent, that in going from Westminster Hall to the Star-chamber, it was long before he could recover his breath; and consequently it became usual in that court that no lawyer should begin until the lord keeper held up his staff for a signal. It was probably in allusion to his corpulency, that the Queen, when visiting him at his house at Gorhambury, observed, "My lord, your house is too little for you."—"No, madam," he returned; "but your highness hath made me too great for my house."—See Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 63.

† Dr. Williams.

rewards. Mr. Coleman, who was to order my Lord Egerton's house and the course of his expense, told me, that when my lord had considered the charge, together with the newness of the profits, he was very sorry that he had accepted the office. How have the lord chancellors lived since, how have they flowed with money, and what great purchases have they made, and what profits and advantage have they had by laying their fingers on purchases! For if my lord desired the land, no man should dare to buy it out of his hands, and he must have it at his own price; for any bribery or corruption, it is hard to prove it; men do not call others to be witnesses in such actions: yet the knight affirms that one who was censured in the Star-chamber for slandering the Lord Bacon and charging him with bribery, the same man was acquitted by parliament and the bribery proved.

The selling of offices hath been very common and usual. I have heard that the cursitor's office of Yorkshire hath been sold for 1,300*l*. Certain it is, that an attorney in the Star-chamber did usually pay 1,500*l*. for the office; and I have heard the justices of the peace, by their presents, New-year's gifts, and pensions, did not forget the lord chancellor. The first Bacon left a great estate behind him; his son was the prime baronet, and he himself had a great hand in the change of religion. The Lord Treasurer Burleigh and he

married two sisters : they were of the Cokes in Essex, and their youngest sons succeeded in both their offices. And truly I have heard that in the first Bacon's time the causes did not so much abound in Chancery as since they have done. For you must understand that the common laws of England are not altogether without equity ; this were to make them unreasonable and unconscionable ; and sometimes the bringing of causes into Chancery is but a prolonging of the suit, and in these later times that court hath not been in so much esteem, though the causes are multiplied, which no man can prevent.

But now to return to my Lord Keeper Egerton. When he had discharged that office with great credit and reputation, he found the infirmities of age coming upon him. I have seen him rising from the Star-chamber and going a little to recruit himself, which was a great hinderance to the proceedings of that court : I do easily believe that it might be so in Chancery. Now, his lordship did often speak to noblemen how much he did desire to lay down his office ; and no doubt but this came to the King's ear. My Lord Egerton sent for Mr. Hope, who was a near kinsman to his wife and who lived in one of my lord's houses, a gentleman of great worth and in whom his lordship reposed much trust. He acquainted him that he had an intent to live in the house, that he would have such

doors and such stairs made, and only a chaplain and some very poor servants to attend him. This Mr. Hope told me; and truly I heard from the Earl of Middlesex* that he did sometimes blame my Lord Egerton that he did so often complain and so much desire to be eased of his office, and did verily believe that it would do him some hurt, and that at length it would be an occasion of the loss of his office; that yet he was not so old but that he might supply the place, and to have no employment would breed melancholy. But now the time drew on for the King's going into Scotland; and for the preventing of any danger, he did desire to settle that great office. And because that my lord keeper had so often given out that he did desire to be eased of his office, the King took occasion and sent for the seals. Yet, as I have heard, the messenger was not Sir Francis Bacon, as the knight reports, but some other. Neither was there any enmity between my Lord Egerton and Bacon; for Bacon was the chief man that did adhere to my Lord Egerton in that great cause between him and Sir Edward Coke. Indeed, I have heard that Bacon, having the seals, came to visit my Lord Egerton in his sickness; at which time the Lord Egerton's eye was continually fastened upon the seal and grew weaker and weaker; and a little after he died. Neither

* Lord Cranfield.

did ever Egerton displease Buckingham, as the knight affirms.

Now for Bacon, certainly he was a man of very great intellectuals, and a man who did every way comply with the King's desires ; and he was a great projector in learning, as did appear by his " Advancement of Learning," to which book I would have given some answer if I durst have printed it. Over other men he did insult, and took bribes on both sides ; and had this property, that he would not question any man for words against him, as knowing himself to be faulty, and therefore would not bring his adversaries upon the stage. Secretary Winwood was a man of courage, and the difference fell out upon a very small occasion, that Winwood did beat his dog from lying upon a stool, which Bacon seeing, said that every gentleman did love a dog. This passed on ; then at the same time, having some business to sit upon, it should seem that Secretary Winwood sate too near my lord keeper ; and his lordship willed him either to keep or to know his distance. Whereupon he arose from table, and I think he did him no good office. It is certain there were many exceptions against Bacon : no man got more dishonestly, and no man spent more wastefully ;* and how fit this

* Many scurril jests passed upon Bacon's extravagance. D'Ewes the antiquarian has preserved two in his journal, as stupid as the gentle dulness of an antiquary could desire : " By letters

man was to carry the King's conscience, whom I believe no other man would trust! And so, no marvel, at length he came to be discovered; and even after his fall, he still continued ambitious, and did practise so much as he could to rise again. Finding that King Charles was forward in wars, especially with the Spaniard, he was pleased to write a treatise to justify him and to encourage him.* Such servants as he had and whom he supposed to have gotten in his service he would send for, and tell them, that although he were not able to do himself good, yet he was able to prefer a servant: but I suppose it was nothing but only to make them supply his occasions. His first rising, as I take it, was by Salisbury. They were sisters' sons; and my Lord Treasurer

patent dated the 27th day of January, was Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, created Viscount St. Albans; all men wondering at the exceeding vanity of his pride and ambition. For his estate in land was not above four or five hundred pounds per annum at the uttermost, and his debts were generally thought to be near thirty thousand pounds. Besides, he was fain to support his very household expenses, being very lavish, by taking great bribes in all causes of moment that came before him, so as men made very bitter sarcasms or jests on him: as, that he lately was *very lame*, alluding to his barony of Verulam; but now having fallen into a consumption, (of purse, without all question,) he was become All-bones, alluding to his new honour of St. Albans. Nay, they said, Nabal being folly or foolishness, and the true anagram of Alban, might well set forth his fond and impotent ambition."—D'Ewes, MS. Journ. p. 54.

* He also wrote a letter to the King at the same time, requesting to be taken into his service.

Burleigh did ever love his wife's kindred, for my Lady Mildred, his wife, was a most virtuous and good lady; she understood Greek: but for Bacon's mother, she was but little better than frantic in her age.* Afterwards, finding the Earl of Essex to be the Queen's favourite, he did wholly adhere unto him and receive many courtesies from him; for he was a very good-natured man, very bountiful, and generally very well beloved. But when Essex fell, then certainly Bacon made things worse than they were, and thus drew much hatred upon him; whereupon he wrote his Apology; and this might be the occasion of Buckingham's message to Bacon, which, if ever it were sent, certain it was by the King's direction, for Buckingham of himself did not desire to displease any man.

After Bacon succeeded Williams, a man of as great wit and understanding as ever I knew any man. And whereas the knight writes that he was of mean birth, truly he was as well descended and had as good kindred as any man had in North Wales, none beyond him. He had a very quick apprehension, and for the discharge of the lord keeper's office he was never taxed with any insufficiency. I have heard him make his reports in the lords' house of parliament, and answer such petitions, that in truth we did wonderfully com-

* See her correspondence with her son, Anthony Bacon, in Birch's Bacon Papers.

mend him. I do not doubt but he might have his faults and infirmities; yet this I will say in his behalf, that being for many years pursued by a most active solicitor, Kilvert the proctor, and by a most persecuting adversary, Mr. Attorney Noy, and no doubt but by the King's special direction, though the lords of the council sate one day in the week for a longer time to examine accusations against him, yet truly little was found.* And I do verily believe that he had as hard measure and suffered as much as any other man did or could do while he was prisoner in the Tower. He was generally beloved of all his neighbours; and for that report that he should be great with Buckingham's mother, it is an idle foolish report, without any colour of truth.†

And because the knight doth so infinitely disparage all bishops and churchmen, certainly it proceeds from an irreligious heart, scarce Christian. In my life I did never know more honest, more virtuous, more pious, or wiser men than I have known bishops and churchmen. God hath committed his church into their charge, and to expose them to scorn and contempt is to overthrow God's church. But I will now instance in the two archbishops, Laud and Williams. There was not a man in England that kept a

* This affair is described at some length in Fuller's Church History.

† Most unquestionably.—See Hacket's Life of Williams.

more orderly house than Laud did, or bred up his servants better. But I will join these two archbishops together for the great hospitality which they kept, inviting and entertaining strangers ; for the many charitable works which they did, Laud to the University of Oxford, to St. John's College in particular ; Williams for his magnificent building of the library in St. John's College, Cambridge, placing some fellows and scholars there ; for his library in Westminster, for his library at Lincoln, for his repairing Westminster church, for his care of the young scholars, even in the time of his greatness, when he was lord keeper. Take all the enemies of the church throughout the whole kingdom, and I dare undertake that all of them put together have not done so many good works as these two archbishops have done in their time. And so I may truly say for the former archbishops, — Archbishop Abbot at Guilford and Canterbury, Whitgift at Croydon. Or show me any archbishop that left any great estate behind him. How many bishops have I heard protest that they spent all that they had, and, as they thought, to the best uses ! One bishop told me, who had but a very poor bishopric, that he did every day constantly relieve one hundred of his poor neighbours. If I might but see the enemies of bishops and churchmen do but half so much, I should think they had some religion in them. I dare boldly

say, that one Londoner did leave behind him more wealth than all the bishops, all the deans, all the archdeacons, all the canons and prebendaries—that is, all the dignities of the church—throughout all England left behind them. It is well known that a Londoner died worth three hundred thousand pounds; which I do verily believe is more than all the dignified men in the church have; and therefore they were not much to be envied, if those who now have the possessions of the church shall spend the means and revenues better than churchmen did. God knows, I am very heartily glad they have them.

CHAPTER XVII.

Characters of the different Lord Treasurers of this reign.—

Northampton and the Suffolk family.—Manchester.—Private history of the Earl of Middlesex, and of his rise at Court.—

Appears before the Council.—A purchaser of the royal lands.

—Obliges Northampton, who introduces him to the King.—Is made Master of Requests.—Enjoys the King's unlimited confidence.—Their conversation.

AND now from the chancellor's office I come to the lord treasurer's.

Upon the death of Salisbury, the lord treasurer's place was long kept void and executed by commissioners. The King did love Northampton, and held him for an honest man; yet he thought him to be too strict; and as he would not give him any discontent, so he would not displease the Scots, who did much oppose him. Therefore until Northampton's death the office was kept void; and then the favourite son-in-law to my Lord of Suffolk procured the office for him, and himself was made lord chamberlain. He continued but a while; for upon the fall of Somerset, the King, considering that the House of Suffolk was a great family, that there were many young sons that must be provided for, that

he lived at a great rate, that his building was very chargeable; that the King's coffers grew empty, that his debts did increase; that he had no opinion of Suffolk for his good husbandry and thrift, though otherwise he held him a very honest, good-natured man; that he had given him very great gifts; unless he might help to sink him, he thought fit to remove him from the treasurer's office; and that it might appear to be done on good occasion, a bill was put against him in the Star-chamber, which notwithstanding was not prosecuted and never came to any censure; only the King did it to justify himself.

And here I shall relate a small story unto you. It should seem there was some little difference between some Spanish ships at sea and ours, and some men desirous of employment spake unto the King to have wars with Spain. The King answered, that he was poor and therefore would not. To whom one replied, that he could show him a means to make the Spaniard as poor as himself; and that was, to recommend the Earl of Suffolk for his treasurer, my Lord Hay for his wardrobe, Holderness for his steward, and Kelly for his favourite. These, it should seem, were noted for wasters. Another said, that nothing did grieve him so much, as that the King's officers who should buy land for the King, or at least preserve the King's lands, that they should be purchasers to buy the King's land, as usually

they were. But I could wish, to prevent this, that the King would be his own officer and look into them more narrowly.

After Suffolk succeeded Manchester,* who

* Howell, retailing the court-gossip of the day, observes, "The Marquis of Buckingham continueth still in fulness of grace and favour: the countess his mother sways also much at court; she brought Sir Henry Montague from delivering law on the King's Bench to look to his bags in the Exchequer, for she made him lord high treasurer of England; but he parted with his white staff before the year's end, though his purse had bled deeply for it (above 20,000*l.*); which made a lord of this land to ask him at his return from court, whether he did not find that *Wood* was extreme dear at Newmarket? For there he received the white staff."—Letters, p. 116. The practice of giving money for the great offices of state seems to have grown up in the late reign and continued for a long period. The letters relative to this particular negotiation have been printed by Mr. Montagu, in his new edition of Bacon's Works, from the originals in the Bodleian. The treasurer was probably no loser by his bargain, as the reader will find by referring to Treasurer Cranfield's letters, published in the Second volume of this book. He was not indeed a man of that temper as to be foolishly or needlessly liberal, being more bent upon advancing his fortune than his titles. His character has been drawn with all the fidelity and exactness of an eye-witness by Lord Clarendon: "The next great counsellor of state was the lord privy seal, who was likewise of a noble extraction and of a family at that time very fortunate. His grandfather had been lord chief justice, and left by King Harry the Eighth one of the executors of his last will. He was the younger son of his father, and brought up in the study of the law in the Middle Temple, and had passed, and as it were made a progress, through all the eminent degrees of the law and in the state. At the death of Queen Elizabeth or thereabouts, he was recorder of London; then the King's serjeant at law;

having had some rich wives, and being a great monied man, did supply a great sum of money for some present occasion, and he was made treasurer ; who being a great husband for himself,

afterwards, chief justice of the King's Bench. Before the death of King James, by the favour of the Duke of Buckingham, he was raised to the place of lord high treasurer of England ; and within less than a year afterwards, by the withdrawing of that favour, he was reduced to the almost empty title of president of the council, and, to allay the sense of the dishonour, created Viscount Mandeville. He bore the diminution very well, as he was a wise man and of an excellent temper, and quickly recovered so much grace that he was made Earl of Manchester and lord privy seal, and enjoyed that office to his death." The noble historian then proceeds to an account of the earl's temper and political influence, observing that " his honours had grown faster upon him than his fortunes, which made him too solicitous to advance the latter by all the ways which offered themselves ; whereby he exposed himself to some inconvenience and many reproaches, and became less capable of serving the public by his counsels and authority ; which his known wisdom, long experience, and confessed gravity and ability would have enabled him to have done."—*Rebellion*, i. 96, 97. The justice of this concluding remark will be seen by the following extract from D'Ewes' MS. Journal :—" Upon the 19th day of December was Sir Henry Mountague, late lord chief justice of the King's Bench, created Baron of Kymbolton in the county of Huntingdon and Viscount Mandeville, and was after made lord treasurer. He was third son to Sir Edward Mountague of Boughton in the county of Northamptonshire, Knight ; supposed by some to be lineally extracted from the ancient Montacutes Earls of Salisbury. His rising to so high honours and place made many observe the strange vicissitude of human affairs, who but a few years before had known him to have executed the under sheriff's place in the same county, his father being then sheriff thereof." *D'Ewes' Journal*, 52.

and for his own estate, might likewise be supposed to be very provident in managing the King's estate for the best. And being an active man and a great lawyer, he might be of very good use to the King in the Exchequer for improving the rents and revenues, and questioning some estates. But the King having now a great good opinion of Sir Lionel Cranfield, for the service he had done in the Wardrobe in ordering the King's house, and at the Queen's funeral, and, as I take it, in the Court of Wards, he did pitch upon him to be treasurer, and so Manchester had part of his money repaid. He was made president of the council, and after, lord privy seal, whereby he did wonderfully improve the Court of Requests, being principal judge of that court. I dare boldly say, that the officers belonging to that court, were worth five times as much as formerly they were, besides the credit and reputation of the court. Formerly, a young petty lawyer would seem to neglect the court; whereas now the greatest counsellor would seem to plead there with reverence. Nor were there injunctions from Chancery, though the register's office, as I have heard, was far more beneficial than a six-clerks' office in Chancery. Whether it be that lawyers will connive at one another, and are very well content to share their judicial power, so that it be within the sphere of their own profession; but for the bishop within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction,

and the temporal lord within his limits, they must do nothing. Thus, all legacies were sued for at the common law and in Chancery. Thus, the Court of Admiralty had little to do; and if once they could but stint the royal prerogative, which they would pretend to be an exorbitant power, and much against the liberty and freedom of the subject, thus the supreme judicatory was in them, and they, under the colour of interpreting the laws and keeping the forms of their court, giving ear to their favourites, and discountenancing such as did not depend upon them, they became more absolute governors than any legal prince in Christendom. So that to be a lawyer, which I did conceive to be ministerial, was indeed to be a governor of one's country. Thus, the recorders and town-clerks governed corporations; the country-lawyer is in commission of the peace, and gives the charge at the quarter-sessions, and rules all there. It was grown so far, that no man was fit to be a feoffee in trust but a lawyer, no man to be an executor but a lawyer. Nay, they grew so far, no man fit to make a purchase but a lawyer, and very much was gotten by their broking in purchases and keeping court-barons and court-leets. They did stoop to the lowest degree of men, and, as I have heard poor people say, they could not raise up a beast, but some cause or other was found out to make them spend the price of the beast. I have heard of some

lawyers that did countenance those that did sue *in forma pauperis*, that so the fees of one side should serve rather than the profession should want employment. But I forget myself; I will only conclude with one story of my Lord Privy Seal Mountague, who being an eminent lawyer, my Lord Mountague, his eldest brother, did intend a suit with him. And certain it is, that no lawyer would be retained against him, and for want thereof he was fain to come to a composition. And as they do thus favour themselves, each the other, so some will report that if they do not bring up their sons and sons-in-law in their own profession, as ever they do unless they be prevented by death, that then they must favour the sons of lawyers and their sons-in-law. As usually they have all the good matches in the kingdom offered them, they must be bred up in the law, and supply the infancy and nonage of their sons; and as it is for matter of profit and honour, so for pleasure and sport, I dare boldly say that there is not a mean lawyer but spendeth as much venison in his house as he doth that hath an ordinary park. I did once intend to have built a church; and a lawyer in my neighbourhood did intend to build himself a fair house, as afterward he did. One sent unto him to desire him to accept from him all his timber, another sent unto him to desire him that he might supply him with all the iron that he spent about his house. These men

had great woods and iron-mills of their own. The country desired him to accept of their carriage. What reason had this man not to build? Truly I think he paid very little but the workmen's wages. Whereas, on the contrary, in the building of my church, where it was so necessary, for without the church they had not God's service, and no church was near them within four or five miles, truly I could not get the contribution of one farthing. Lord! how are the times altered! It was not so when St. Paul's Church in London and other cathedrals were built. God's will be done!

And now I come to Sir Lionel Cranfield; and because he was a citizen, very well known to the merchants and to the Mercers' Company, I shall therefore be very exact and punctual in him, that so by the truth of his story you may judge of the truth of all the rest of the knight's book. And so much I will say for myself, that I will not be partial. Neither can I be ignorant, for I verily believe no man knew him better than myself. The first occasion which made him take notice of me was this:—When he was lord treasurer, he gave me a bill of impost for wine, which did somewhat serve to help my expense, and I left it as an inheritance to my successors the Deans of Rochester. After all his troubles and in the midst of all his sorrow, I came to give him thanks for my bill of impost; which he took so kindly, that ever

after I made bold to visit him. But first before we can acquit him let us hear his accusation (p. 86). “*Cranfield was an apprentice who had served three broken citizens; and it is probable by his wit and honesty he might thrive by them all, and by that form a foundation of his future projecting. A creature of Northampton’s—his honour he raked out of the channel; that he was nothing but a pack of ignorance soldered together with impudence—a fellow of so mean a condition that none but a poor-spirited nobility would have endured his perching upon that high tree of honour, to the dishonour of the nobility.*”

That it can be no dishonour that citizens should be admitted to the nobility, it hath not been only frequent and usual, but take that glorious sun Queen Elizabeth, as the knight is pleased to call her, she was descended of citizens, if I do not utterly forget. I have seen her ancestors’ tomb in St. Lawrence Church; and for other things concerning her birth and pedigree, I am credibly informed that they remain under her ancestors’ own hand-writing, whereof I think I had once seen a copy in the Vatican Library at Rome. Thus there were many other citizens who received the title of nobility very lately; as Camden, Bayning, Craven, and others. I knew them all, and I knew their descent to be inferior to Sir Lionel Cranfield’s. That a merchant should have the title of nobility, truly of all other professions they deserve it best; for it is generous, and is ever accompanied with

the greatest prudence, and of all others doth the most enrich the nation. The noblemen in Italy, whose practice hath been heretofore an example to the Christian world, have been merchants. The state of Venice and Genoa doth most consist of merchants. Great Spinola, the wise commander of the Low Countries, for many years was a merchant, and descended from merchants. I may further add, that of all the merchants in the world none are more famous for a staple commodity than the English merchant-adventurers; and such a one was Mr. Cranfield, and of that he was of the Mercers' Company, the prime company in London, who have had a great commendation for discharging charitable uses; as that of St. Paul's School in London, and turning the house where St. Thomas of Canterbury was born into a fair chapel. And no doubt but by Sir Lionel Cranfield's means the company was put in trust with the Hospital of Greenwich. There was such a mutual love and correspondency between him and his company, that beyond all example while he was lord high treasurer they made him master of the company, and he out of his love to them did accept it, and did execute it in his own person; that when he was out of his treasuryship and now could be no more useful unto them, yet some things the company did only upon his word; as the taking of a schoolmaster in St. Paul's whom they did ever respect for his recom-

mendation. And thus far I have spoken of him as a citizen.

Now, that he should serve *three broken citizens*, God forgive the knight for his false report. It is most certain that he never had but one master; and he was Mr. Richard Shephard, a merchant-adventurer, dwelling in St. Bartholomew's Lane near the Exchange, in the same house where my Lord Lovelace lately dwelt. Mr. Cranfield being the son of a gentleman whose father at the age of fifty years gave over the world, suffered his estate to be managed by others, and himself did wholly follow his devotions; and, therefore, I doubt not but God gave a greater blessing to his son, and hath reserved a blessing to his posterity. Now because Mr. Cranfield's father was a gentleman and had given a good sum of money with his son, therefore did Mr. Shephard take into his house a young boy to do all those servile offices which the youngest apprentice was wont to do, only to save Mr. Cranfield that labour, who being a very handsome young man, well spoken and of a ready wit, Miss Shephard, his master's daughter, fell in love with him, and so there was a match between them. His master gave him eight hundred pounds portion and forgave him two years of his apprenticeship. So far he was from serving three broken masters.

And here a little to tax the citizens in these later times. If you consider what course they

use, what security they require, and what advantage they take upon all occasions, having the friends of their apprentices bound unto them, you will not easily think that they could be much wronged by servants, over whom they have a continual eye, but rather by their customers, by shopkeepers and debtors, by losses at sea, or chargeable suits in law. And sometimes the excessive expense of their wives in apparel, in house-rent, in furniture, in gossipings. And so much I will say for the honour of the continent of the world. I lived near London, where I had continual access to the city: there was not a merchant that broke but for mine own experience I did inquire the cause of his breaking; and as yet I never found any man that did complain of his customers beyond seas, that they did break and fail with him, or that he lost anything by a suit amongst them. There is honest and just dealing between them; there is *lex mercatoria*, whereby they may assign bills one to another, which serves instead of current money and pay: they have a speedy course for recovering their own. I have seen five hundred several dollars at once, of several towns and states, and amongst them all there was not a clipped piece, or one that wanted a scruple either in goodness or weight. But I have heard a very great and wise merchant say, that here they take bonds for their money, which are usually sued; and in suing

of them their hazard is such, that when he sends out his pack of cloth, first he trusts the porters to carry them to ship-board; then he trusts the ship, the winds and the sea, and a little fears pirates. Then he trusts his factors, and they trust their customers; yet all their fears he regards not, nor esteems them half so much as the suing a bond at common law, lest his adversary might fly into Chancery, and then he gives it over as a desperate debt. Such an infinite inconveniency doth accompany the tedious chargeable suits in law, which in effect takes away all trading and conversation of men.

Thus having disproved that Sir Lionel had ever served three masters, much less broken citizens, or that he had thrived by them; for even that only master whom he did serve did not break, for at the time of his death all debts being paid to a farthing, he left behind him between seven score and eight score pounds per annum. And that he died no richer, he lived at a great expense, bestowed his daughters very well; and other reasons there may be which I know not. Thus having now acquitted him in his apprenticeship, we now have him a young merchant-adventurer, and of as good credit and repute as any other man in London, and generally esteemed to be worth twenty thousand pounds. Thus did he very well content himself to have followed his calling and profession; he

had neither pride nor ambition, nor any other projecting design to come to the court, nor was it his own seeking, but he was drawn very casually upon this occasion.

While he was a young merchant, the lords of the council required the citizens of London to make a plantation in Ireland which should be much for their advantage; which the citizens did accept, and to that end they were to raise a great sum of money. The Court of Aldermen thought fit to lay the sum equally upon the several companies. Now, the Company of Mercers, though it be the chief and principal of all other companies, yet it doth no way equal other companies in number and multitude. Whereupon they did conceive that to lay this sum equally was indeed an unequal proportion. The monies failing, complaint was made to the lords of the council that there were some obstructions in the business, and therefore their lordships were desired to take some course to remove them, whereupon there was a meeting before the lords of the council: several aldermen did attend, and for the young merchants and the Company of Mercers Mr. Cranfield was one, and he was appointed speaker for the rest. The old aldermen at the council-board spoke first; and they, like old men, what with bashfulness and what with age, could hardly express themselves,—only they informed their lordships they had done their best

endeavours, and that they themselves were willing to contribute, and that the fault was in others. Whereupon Mr. Cranfield, a very handsome young man and well spoken, replies, "My lords, there is no man that doth oppose the contribution, —only we desire that it may be more equally laid, and that is the reason the business hath hitherto miscarried. Where the fault is will plainly appear if your lordships will be pleased to ask Mr. Alderman what he pays, and then to ask what is demanded of me." This was a short course and soon done, and to save all farther trouble and pains the lords did so; and it was found that the alderman's estate being three times as great as Mr. Cranfield's, yet Mr. Cranfield paid three times as much as the alderman. Whereupon the lords did instantly blame the aldermen, and willed them to make a more equal contribution. And this was the first notice that ever was taken of Mr. Cranfield at court.

A little after there fell out another occasion. The King being in great want of money, and necessity enforcing that land should be sold; whereas formerly his majesty found by experience that selling it by degrees and using his officers in the sale, in effect all was spent in accounts, and little made of the land, especially to supply an instant necessity: whereupon another course was taken to sell the land in gross to contractors, and they to make their best advantage

and to sell it by retail in parcels; and thereby far greater sums were raised and instant necessity supplied for raising of present monies. None but merchants could be contractors, and amongst them Mr. Cranfield was a principal man, who ever delighting to live in fair and goodly houses, (though I must tell you he could never endure to build houses, they were so chargeable and there was so much deceit in the workmen,) they did pitch upon his house to be the place of their meeting, and there they did contract for these lands. Now the Lord Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, did much desire a little parcel of that land, not for any profit, but for his great conveniency, and to that end did employ a servant to see the manner of their contracting, and to inform him; the servant told his master that the meeting was kept at Mr. Cranfield's house, where the contractors at certain appointed times did constantly meet. Here my lord remembered his name, and by his fair carriage at the council-board did conceive him to be a very ingenious man, and sent his servant unto him, desiring him to be a means that he might have the refusal of such a ground for his money before another. Mr. Cranfield did not only procure this, but persuaded the rest of the contractors to bestow it freely upon his lordship, being of so small a value; and they did employ Mr. Cranfield to make the offer of it, and to recommend their service unto his lordship.

This my lord took so kindly that he entered into some further discourse with him, and in my certain knowledge not one word to the prejudice of the merchants, but very much to their advantage. For he was a great enemy to the prying into customs, and that there should be such strictness in exacting of them to the great discouragement of young merchants. He was a great enemy to the farming of customs, and the customs were let out long before his time; neither was he ever of the Custom-house, as the knight falsely reports, nor ever had to do with the Custom-house but as a merchant. Mr. Worcenam, one of the farmers, was but a servant to the searcher of the Custom-house, and of very mean condition, who raised himself to that great estate. Mr. Garroway, known to be a very poor man when he entered upon the customs, yet left great treasures behind him. These farmers did not only press upon the merchants in general, but they did likewise very much abridge the officers, insomuch that I heard one of them complain that he lost yearly very near a thousand marks by them, which he did conceive did properly belong unto him in the right of his office. And this I had reason to believe, for I knew him to be a right honest man. And some will not stick to say that the contractors did shark upon each other. Certain it is, Alderman Jones broke instantly the next day after his mayoralty.

Certain it is that Sir Lionel Cranfield did desire that young merchants should be sometimes winked at, to encourage them in trading ; that no forfeitures or strict penalties should be taken against them ; and he thought that this would make more for his majesty's advantage and for the benefit of the State, as giving occasion of more trading, and that it cannot stand with the honour of princes to be cruel and strict in their exactions in that kind. Mr. Cranfield thought that a course might be taken whereby servants and officers might give as fair an accompt as the farmers, which he confessed was not so in servants who did both receive and pay to several persons, and that upon several occasions many things pass privately ; but whereas the customs are certain, and all payments go in a gross sum, there may be such an oversight and care had that even falsehood itself shall hardly be able to conceal a considerable sum.

My Lord of Northampton taking a great good liking of Mr. Cranfield, he brings him to the King and recommends him to him, with whom the King had some conference, and having a great reach and seeing far into a man, finding great abilities in Mr. Cranfield, he thought fit to draw him into some nearness unto himself. And first, he made him master of requests ; and at times, when he should have audience and acquaint the King with the petitions, the King usually told him, " I know thou hast wit and honesty

enough of thyself to return a fair and a conscionable answer to these petitions and I will leave them to thyself. We will now talk of some other business." And then the King would take further information concerning divers and several things then in agitation, and very usually to the crossing of the designs of Suffolk, who was then lord treasurer, Northampton being dead. And Sir Lionel Cranfield having now no supporter, but standing upon his own feet, Suffolk did much wonder who it should be that should thus thwart him, Sir Lionel having at that time little private access, but only at the time of his audience, nor was there ever any correspondency between Suffolk and Sir Lionel, nor did Sir Lionel ever depend upon Somerset, though I know he was once entertained at Audley, by this token, that my Lord of Suffolk looking upon the house, laid his hand upon his heart and fetched a great sigh, lamenting the unreasonable charge of that building.* And now is Sir Lionel become a notable and an eminent courtier; yet still thus much I dare say in his behalf, that even at that time of his getting into favour, being a member of the House of Commons, when the King upon the loss of the palatinate did call a parliament,

* Suffolk had more reason than one for sighing. For, according to Lloyd, Winwood occasioned Suffolk's fall by discovering "the conveyance of public money to the building of Audley-end."—Lloyd's Worthies, ii. 117.

no man did speak for the liberty of freedom of the subject more than he did; and in the time of his greatness, even that very parliament wherein he fell, being then of the House of Lords, no man did more boldly tax the prodigality of King James than he did, and I know that he hath often blamed the King for being so careless in his expense; and how many several places he did reform, as the King's Household, the Wardrobe, the Court of Wards, the Treasurer's Office, shall appear, only the Royal Navy and the Tower of London excepted, which was the work of Secretary Cooke.*

But first I will acquaint you with a story of an officer at court, who upon his deathbed was a little troubled and disquieted in thought that he wronged and cheated the King. And when

* Sir John Cooke, younger brother to Sir Francis Cooke, born at Trusley in Derbyshire, and allied to the best families in that county. He was educated at Cambridge, obtained a fellowship in Trinity College, and was chosen the rhetoric lecturer in that university. Being related to Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brook, who, as Lloyd says, did every man's business but his own, he was preferred to be secretary to the navy, then master of requests, and last of all, secretary of state. To all appearance, he was a man of an unoffending temper, more remarkable for his industry than his great parts, possessing neither influence enough nor talents sufficiently brilliant to ride safely through the storms of the civil wars. He was made a political scapegoat in 1639, by the means of that Scotch scoundrel the Marquis of Hamilton. According to Lord Clarendon, he was "a man of a very narrow education and narrower nature, having continued

the King heard it, he sent him word that he should be of good courage, for that he did freely and lovingly forgive him. But withal the King broke out into these words: "I wonder much that all my officers do not go mad with the like thoughts; for certainly they have as great cause as this poor man hath." And so truly Sir Lionel Cranfield found it: though a merchant should be, and indeed is, more perfect and exact in his accompts than a courtier, yet the wisest merchant was not able to perfect the accompts at court; they did consist of so many mysteries and such intricate subtilties. Especially this did appear in the Wardrobe, where there were wardrobe lists, wardrobe measures, wardrobe allowance and payments; all which were reduced by Sir Lionel Cranfield's means, who did

long in the University of Cambridge, where he had gotten Latin learning enough, and afterwards in the country in the condition of a private gentleman, till after he was fifty years of age, when, upon some reputation he had for industry and diligence, he was called to some painful employment in the office of the navy, which he discharged well, and afterwards to be master of requests, and then to be secretary of state, which he enjoyed to a great age, and was a man rather unadorned with parts of vigour and quickness, and unendowed with any notable virtues, than notorious for any weakness or defect of understanding, or transported with any vicious inclinations, appetite to money only excepted. His cardinal perfection was industry, and his most eminent infirmity covetousness. His long experience had informed him well of the state and affairs of England; but of foreign transactions, or the common interest of Christian princes, he was entirely undiscerning and ignorant."—Hist. of the Rebellion, i. 113.

use these words : “ The King shall pay no more than other men do, and he shall pay ready money ; and if we cannot have it in one place, we will have it in another.” And by these means he saved the King at last fourteen thousand pounds per annum. And so upon other occasions, as at the funeral of Queen Anne, wherein he was put in trust, he saved the King at least ten thousand pounds.* That being master of the wards, I have heard him say that the Court of Wards was but only a matter of trust, and that the King ought not to take such profit as he did : that the attorney of the Court of Wards, since the Earl of Marlborough, was permitted to do very little, but his lordship in effect did all ; whereas the attorneys before and since by way of direction in the court have been permitted to order all things, and thereby have made their places much more profitable than formerly they were. I have heard of an attorney who had usually given him every New-year’s tide so much plate as would have made a cupboard of plate not inferior to some nobleman’s. Surely all things were ordered there during Sir Lionel Cranfield’s time without ex-

* Howell mentions a strange project which Lord Cranfield had in hand at the funeral of King James ; which was, to buy all the cloth for mourning white, and then to put it to the dyer’s in gross : “ which is like to save the Crown,” he adds, “ a good deal of money. The drapers murmur extremely at the Lord Cranfield for it.”—Letters, p. 174. Perhaps he may have practised something similar on this occasion.

ception in the mildest and most moderate way for the good of the orphans. The feodary's place was nothing near of that value and price as since it hath been. And, in a word, I could never hear any complaint of him in that court.

When he was lord treasurer, there fell out this accident:—The King was very earnest in speech with my lord when the gentlemen waiters brought in word that dinner was upon the table; yet still the King went on with his discourse, and questioning with my lord. The gentlemen came the second time, and told his majesty that the time was far spent, and that dinner was upon the table: still the King had business to confer with my lord and came not. The gentlemen came again and told his majesty that his meat was grown cold, and they would carry it back again unless he came as soon as they were gone back. My lord told the King that he did wish that they would eat up all the meat and leave him the reversion, for so they had done with his estates; they had culled out all the best things and left him to live upon projects and fee-farms. The King then went to dinner and caused his carver to cut him out a court-dish, that is, something of every dish, which he sent him, as part of his reversion; so much was the King taken with that conceit.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The history of Treasurer Cranfield continued. — Anecdotes of his administration. — Puritan Bishops. — Cranfield's remarks to the Assay-master against raising the Coinage.—Repairs of St. Paul's. — Thievery of the officers about the court.—Nastiness of the Scotch rabble. — Cranfield a great œconomizer of the King's revenues.

AND now to give you some further accounts of the free speech of the Earl of Middlesex. The prince did resolve to declare himself in person for the recovering of the palatinate. My Lord Treasurer Cranfield did much commend his resolution, and did desire to further the business as much as possibly he could; but first out of his own providence, and out of the care which he had of the prince's credit, lest he might fail in the success, he went to his highness to desire him first to make trial what armies or sums of money might be raised before he did engage himself too far in the action, and that the world took notice of his resolution; whereupon the prince proposed it at the council table to see what monies might be raised by way of benevolence.

William, then Earl of Pembroke, began to inform them that he was far in debt, and had undertaken for his brother Montgomery's debts and for his cousin's Sir William Herbert* of Red Castle, and that he had enough to do to subsist;† but the Marquis Hamilton in a more high strain said that he came thither to give counsels and not to pay ransoms,‡ and so the business was laid aside for that time. The prince gave my Lord of Middlesex many thanks for his counsel, and did resolve that before ever he undertook anything in person hereafter, he would see all preparations made beforehand.

At another time, the King sitting in council, and having heard many practices of Puritans, all, as he thought, tending to sedition, he bethought what course might be taken for the rooting of

* William Herbert.

† In this apology he was perfectly sincere: had he possessed the means, he wanted neither for generosity nor loyalty to his prince to have given the money. He supplied his younger brother Philip, the Earl of Montgomery, with a liberality greater than his income could well bear. A noble instance of his generosity is mentioned by Howell. When the King had bestowed upon him all Sir Gervas Elways estate, who was hanged for his participation in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, he did a "most noble act, like himself," says this writer, "and freely bestowed it on the widow and her children, amounting to above a thousand pounds per annum."—*Letters*, p. 20. See more of his character in Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, i. p. 100.

‡ Another stroke in this knave's character, whom Burnet white-washed because he was a Scotchman. The taking his head off was one of the very few good things the rebels did.

them out, and wondered much why some bishops should favour Puritans, whereas they are their utter enemies and seek their ruin and dissolution. Some told the King that they thought that the bishops wanted power, and some of them had not means to encourage them, and therefore, being old men, out of a pusillanimity of spirit desiring their own quietness and peace, they would not provoke them, but rather put on patience, cover and conceal many indignities, knowing the Puritans to be very factious and much inclined to mutiness, and that they did much bandy together, so that to provoke them were to fight with a swarm of wasps. But my Lord of Middlesex gave the King another reason that he did conceive that bishops did therefore favour Puritans, because his majesty made Puritans bishops,* who with their parsimony providing for

* The effects of this wretched policy in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and carelessness of King James, in promoting to the different sees men of opposite sentiments, have been well described by Fr. Osborne, whose testimony is in this instance the more to be relied upon, since he was no friend to the bishops. Speaking of Bancroft's labours to promote unity in the Church, "which he endeavoured to bring about through a reduction of Britain into one form of worship, by the train of Calvin most rigidly opposed," he adds—"But the two contrary factions at court, one of them thinking all things fit to be destroyed, the other labouring to preserve, did upon the vacancy of every bishopric put one in suitable to their humours that had the luck to prevail. The cause the present incumbent [Abbot] did, like the web of Penelope, unravel what his predecessor had with more policy and charity twisted. By which means the

their wives and children, and by all the courses of their life, did more resemble Puritans than bishops, who were wont to be given to hospitality and all charitable works; but now he did fear lest these Puritans took their bishoprics with an intent to destroy their bishoprics, to make their uttermost profit of them, and in effect to undo their successors. As soon as the King heard this, he protested that no man could have given such a reason but the devil and himself.

I do not remember that ever any man had those two great offices the treasurership and the master of the wards together, but only the two great Cecils and my Lord Cranfield; and as Treasurer Burleigh was wont very much to glory in this, that he was of the Queen's council both for reducing of her coins unto their true values both

dioceses of Canterbury and York were at one and the same time of contrary judgments, and the best of clergymen, driven into a medium by the scorching heat of the one side and chill indifference of the other, lost their labour and all hope of preferment in a vain endeavour for a reconciliation impossible to be brought about, the one party being fomented by hypocrisy to bear out their ignorance, and the other from power and a fear of reverting into the primitive austerity; which held so long in this inconstant vicissitude, till what was continued merely out of policy at court, did in a short time branch forth in city and country into divers popular differences, suitable to the mould of every head and the interest of such persons as had the subtilty to fit them to their occasions. Zeal, like lead, being as ready to drop into bullets as to mingle with a composition fit for medicine. So as, in those days, it was impossible for men in power but to be scandalous to one side or other."—Trad. Mem. 66.

for fineness and weight, and the abolishing of all base monies, so in my certain knowledge, when Mr. Palmer, a great officer in the Mint, being assay-master, a very honest and a skilful man in his own profession,—when he and others did inform the council that it was fit that our money should be raised, as many other nations had done, and as the King raised our gold, my Lord Cranfield was then the only man to oppose it, showing them that then all their quit-rents and old rents would come to little, and all the pensions, and it would be an infinite loss to this kingdom; and though the Hollanders, a small state, and much consisting of merchants, might do it without any great inconvenience, and sometimes much to their advantage in regard of their neighbours, yet it is otherwise with this kingdom. Then did Mr. Palmer again use other reasons: “Sir, sir,” quoth my Lord Cranfield, “you are like to a man that hath been at fencing-school, and desire to use your weapons according to your own rules and notions; but when you come into an army and fall pell-mell and promiscuously to blows, then you must give over your rules and fight as other men do. I have been a merchant and know the course of the world, and therefore I should know these things better than those who have them only in speculation.” Here the lords began to smile, and Mr. Palmer blushed and went away very discontented. Thus far he did concur with

his predecessor Treasurer Burleigh, that as he did reduce, so my Lord Cranfield was a means to continue monies in their just and true value.

Now for religion, my Lord Cranfield bethought himself how he might do something for the honour of God, and finding such a goodly fabric of building as St. Paul's Church in London to be in great decay, he procured a commission, directed to himself and others, to examine where the fault was, to give an estimate of the charge, and to take order for the repairing: and sitting upon this commission in the Bishop of London's house, (then Bishop King,) he acquainted them with the effects of his commission. Whereupon the bishop, conceiving that the work was to be done by a benevolence or contribution, did freely offer of himself five hundred pounds towards the repairing. My Lord Cranfield inquires, whether this five hundred pounds should be a free and a voluntary gift out of his own private and personal estate, or otherwise that it should issue out of those lands which were assigned towards the fabric; and thereupon did desire to see the letters patent of the foundation, with promise and assurance that no advantage should be taken of any record, but, if anything were defective or insufficient, he did there undertake, as from his master, to procure a corroboration or new patent or charter in as firm and legal a way as counsel could devise, without the diminution of one farthing. And this was

the beginning of the re-edifying of St. Paul's Church, which was afterwards so much seconded by bishops and churchmen.

And whereas the knight saith that my Lord Cranfield was *a pack of ignorance soldered with impudence*, I myself did hear a lord keeper give him this testimony, that he was a man of extraordinary intellectuals; and certainly King James would never have reposed that trust in him if he had not found him so to be. My Lord Cranfield was the means to bring two men first into the court, who were thought to be two great, wise men; and that was my Lord Coventry, lord keeper, and my Lord Weston, lord high treasurer: and as his wisdom did appear in the choice of these men, so I will descend even to the meanest. Mr. Dulin, a Rochester man and a very understanding man, who provided all the bread and beer for the King's navy, he hath told me that, speaking with my Lord Cranfield, he did wonder at his abilities that he should be so provident and have such an insight in all things which did belong to housekeeping. Mr. Colman, who did settle my Lord Egerton's house* and was employed by the greatest noblemen, had likewise

* The MS. of Lord Egerton's housekeeping and other expences, written by Morgan Colman, is at present in the Bodleian among Dr. Rawlinson's MSS. and is remarkable for its neatness and the regularity with which the accounts were kept.—See Wood's Ath. ii. 198, ed. Bliss.

been employed in my Lord Cranfield's house ; but then he was very old and could not take much pains. But of all the forms of housekeeping he did commend his ; he gave me the copy of it, as he had formerly done to a very great earl. There was the office of every servant, what wages, what fees, what attendance, and everything very punctual. King James, in my knowledge, took notice of his housekeeping, and once did lay his hand upon his head, using these words : " God's blessing and mine be upon thee ! " Yet I confess, that afterwards his lordship spake unto me to recommend servants unto him : to whom I replied, " Why, my lord, you were wont to be noted to have as good servants as any were in England, and I shall never be able to fit you with such." Then quoth my lord, " When I was treasurer and master of the wards, then I had good servants indeed, for their attendance was for their own advantage ; but now that I have nothing but my own estate, and have young children to care for, and that they must depend but only upon their wages, I have but servants as other men have."

For his providence and wisdom thus much I do profess,—that above twenty-four years since I was told of these times, (I forbear to describe them, because I will give no offence,) by two great noblemen, Edward Earl of Worcester, lord privy-seal, and by the Earl of Middlesex, who was so confident of these times, that having a very

great estate in Yorkshire, he did exchange it for Millcotte in Warwickshire, which, as he said, was in the heart of the kingdom, as indeed it is somewhat near the heart; and the greatest reason to move him was, that if there were any stirs or wars in the kingdom, certainly Yorkshire would suffer most, and the heart of the kingdom would escape best, as we see they have done. Now, why should this knight be so much against Middlesex above others? Truly I conceive, because that the knight was an officer at court, and my Lord Cranfield was employed in reforming the offices there.* And truly I did once ask his lordship why he should abridge the diet and allowance at court, wherein little was saved, with great dishonour to his majesty. Wherein his lordship answered, that he had not abridged them one farthing, but only their stealings and thieveries; and that yet still they had such an overplus and surplusage, as no three kings in Christendom did give the like. The truth is, that the wonderful waste at court did draw on a number of Hangbies, whole families of poor people, especially Scots. This made

* A notice of this occurs in a MS. letter from Mr. Lorkin to a person unknown, preserved among Birch's Collection. He states, Sir Lionel Cranfield had troubled much the household officers at court by laying down a project to the King of saving him twelve thousand pounds a year in his ordinary expences, and yet no man abridged of his allowance; which is with this condition imposed upon the said officers, that either they must make it good, or void their offices.

the courtiers in fear of infectious and dangerous diseases. They were nasty, for want of clean linen. There was much stealing, filching, and robbery: it was not safe for men to walk in the night. Thus, as poor people do always flock to a common, so did they flock here only for diet.* Now, my Lord Cranfield would abate them nothing of their ordinary diet; but the King appointed the lords to make this order among themselves, that no man should add anything to the King's diet; and some officers were winked at for taking board wages, and these things were ascribed to the reformation of the house. If the court, as the knight saith, were an academy of

* Against this "beggarly rabble, attending his majesty," as Osborne calls them, his majesty thought fit to issue a proclamation in 1611, complaining that his royal court was almost filled by them, and forbidding their approach to the court, "they being, in the opinioune and consait of all beholderis, bot ydill rascallis and poore miserable bodyis, bot with that this cuntrey is heauelie disgraceit, and many sclanderous imputationis gevin out against the same, as iff thair wer no personis of goode ranke, comlynes, nor credit within the seme." See Osborne's Trad. Mem. p. 143. n. ed. 1811. The pasquinades against the poverty of the Scots were numerous. In a MS. collection of satirical poems written about the time of James I. and preserved in the library of All-Souls' College in Oxford, one of these pasquinades, written apparently during one of the plagues which happened in this reign, concludes thus:

" The commons are a dying,
The clergy toll the bell;
The Scots do live by lying,—
Sir, this is England's knell."

jugglers, certain it was in regard of the officers and their intricate accounts, whereof the knight was one. And I do confess it, and I know I had notes to show for it, that the King spent more in boots, silk stockings, beaver hats, than all the kings of Christendom did, put them all together.

What an officer my Lord Cranfield was to the King shall appear by this. While he was lord high treasurer, the King never sold one foot of land, never made any one lease, never felled a timber-tree, nor ran into any debts. That he had this fashion to satisfy any suitors:—When they had gotten any great sums of money from the King, his lordship would give them free access, not hold them in suspense or delays, but dealt very fairly and openly with them, telling them that the King's revenue was so much, whereof such sums were to be spent in provision for his house, so much for the entertainment of ambassadors, so much to his judges and officers, with such like other necessary expenses; and these being satisfied in the first place, which he was bound to see done by his office and conscience, if they could find any surplusage he would not oppose them. And how often hath he told the King that in selling land he did not only sell his rent, as other men did, but he sold his sovereignty, for it was a greater tie of obedience to be a tenant to the King than to be his subject; for as a subject he did only obey him according to his laws, but as a tenant

he was ready upon all occasions to serve him and drew others on by his example. Thus, some counties of England did never oppose the King in anything, but were ever conformable to his will; and this was in regard of his tenants. But other counties did resist him in all things, still opposing the freedom and liberty of the subject against all his designs; and this did partly rise from the King's own tenants, who could never endure to hear that kings had ever received any power from the people, but all was derived immediately from God: so then the people did look upon them as having a distinct power from themselves, and so the greater their power was, the more was the slavery and bondage of the people; whereas if they had taken upon them to be feoffees in trust for the government, and so representing them, then the people would have looked upon them as the authors of their liberty and freedom, and would never have stood in opposition.

CHAPTER XIX.

Fall of the Earl of Middlesex.—His principal persecutors.—His policy in reference to the Spanish match.—Sir Christopher Perkins.—His origin and education.—Forms an intimacy with Lord Burghley's grandchild at Rome.—Marries the Duke's aunt.—The Duke offended with him;—detests him.—He dies, and leaves his money to a servant.

Now, for the fall of the Earl of Middlesex, in truth I made bold to tell him, that he had not sufficiently supplied the prince's occasions in Spain, but his lordship informed me otherwise, and it plainly appears by the gifts and rewards which he gave, and by the whole course of his expense, that he had no cause to complain.* And that my Lord Cranfield should say, that the voyage was foolishly undertaken and now must be maintained with prodigality, I confess that at the first hearing I should easily believe that he might have spoken such words, for he was an open-

* This is likewise confirmed by a passage in one of the King's letters to the prince and the duke in Spain. He observes, "My treasurer likewise made that money ready which my baby desired: I must bear him witness he spares not to engage himself and all he is worth for the business."—Hardwicke, i. 414.

hearted man as ever I knew any, and did not desire to cover the nakedness of his thoughts; but when I consider that such words were never objected against him, which if they had been spoken had been a just exception, and that I myself in private did never hear any word to any such purpose, I am confident it is a mis-report. What was objected against him in parliament and all that was there laid to his charge I have heard, and I do verily believe that it stands disproved upon oath in a court of record, so there his innocency in suffering appears. The principal men who did persecute him were the prince and the Duke of Buckingham,* while others gave their helping hand, as the Earl of Southampton and Sir Miles Fleetwood: and I do verily believe that it might be one cause why the Earl of Middlesex was employed as a messenger to the King in Carisbrook Castle, to put the King in mind of the hard measure which his father sustained in parliament by his Majesty's means; but I do verily

* According to Lord Clarendon, the Duke of Buckingham persuaded the prince to join in this prosecution against Cranfield. The King used his utmost endeavours to dissuade them, but finding his efforts unavailing, he exclaimed in his characteristic language, "By God, Stenny! you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and will find that in this fit of popularity you are making a rod with which you will be scourged yourself!" Then turning in some anger to the Prince, he told him that he would live to have his belly full of parliament impeachments."—Hist. of the Rebellion, i. p. 41.

believe the inward grudge was this. The prince had been in Spain for his wife and failed to bring her home: this he took so unkindly as that the match must needs break off; and in effect it was broken by an act of parliament: there never was such an example before. Now the prince knew that the King stood still well affected to the match;* first, for the greatness of the portion, which was a million; secondly, that the Spaniards were a grave nation, and living somewhat more remote from us than the French were not so apt upon every slight occasion to come over and put this kingdom to charge; and for many other political reasons and state affairs which I forbear to repeat, only let it suffice, that the wise King Henry the Seventh was of the same opinion. Now it is true, that at the council-board, when the breaking of the Spanish match was in agitation, my Lord Cranfield did once say, whether by direction or as only by himself I know not, that seeing the world was so possessed of the Spanish match, it was very fit for the honour of our State to make it appear that the breach was on their side, and not on ours; and hence some did infer, that this not being possible to be done,

* This is apparent both from Lord Clarendon's History and Hacket's Life of Williams. But from Weston's letters in the Cabala, it would appear, that if not at first, at least subsequently, James conceived some displeasure against Cranfield.

therefore the match should proceed, and therefore to prevent that, his lordship should be no hindrance to the breach of the Spanish match; and to strike terror into others, that they might not attempt the like nor be employed as agents in that business, it was thought fit to make my Lord Cranfield an example. And truly the sentence was executed against him with the greatest rigour and extremity, insomuch that I have heard him say and protest that he paid many thousand pounds more than could be exacted of him by the censure of parliament. Yet King Charles had that great opinion of his wisdom, that even in this last parliament he did advise with him in some things, insomuch, that myself coming very casually to my lord, his lordship gave me a note of very great importance, which, as he said, was in the King's pocket within less than twenty-four hours.

If the bishops were the only cause that he was not degraded of his honour, truly they did therein but justly, honourably, and like themselves, for he did never deserve to be degraded. I might further add, they did it but in their thankfulness, for in my certain knowledge there came to my Lord Cranfield, while he was treasurer, an ancient grave lawyer, who did inform his lordship that the King being in want of money, he would acquaint his lordship with a course whereby his majesty

might abundantly be supplied, and that legally : and here he began to insist upon some bonds which the clergymen did enter into upon taking of their benefices, and that they were all forfeited, which might tend very much to the King's advantage. He did further insist upon the rates and valuations of benefices ; that a commission might issue out *ad melius inquirendum*, whereby the benefices might be raised in their valuation and so much increase the King's revenue. My lord gave him only a hearing, and held him to be some base, knavish projector, and so dismissed him. This projector came awhile after and brought some notes, and did instance in particulars, and showed wherein the King was wronged, and what great sums of money might be raised : my lord gave him the same entertainment that formerly he did, little regarding him. This projector came the third time, to inquire what had been done in the business, and it should seem expecting some employment therein ; my lord then told him that he would take it into further consideration. Now, after his departure, his lordship considering that this projector was a bold man, and by all likelihood a poor needy man desirous of employment, and that he would not rest here, but would acquaint others, happily the King himself, knowing that it did belong to his office of treasurer to improve the King's revenues, knowing further that if he once did fall into disgrace then any-

thing would serve for his accusation, he thought it his best course to acquaint the King herewith, and then to vilify it, and to dissuade the King, and to show what a base unworthy course it was. And so he did acquaint the King with the manner of his coming: the King heard it, and made as if it had seemed very strange to him, and seemed to be doubtful whether he should put it in practice or not; and then he asked my Lord Cranfield what counsel he would give him. His lordship replied, that he thought it to be a very unworthy course, and such as could neither stand with his majesty's honour, honesty, nor conscience: to whom the King replied, "I knew the course before, and I was satisfied in mine own resolutions; but if thou hadst given me any other counsel, I should never have held thee for an honest man, nor would I ever have reposed any trust in thee. God forbid that I should undo that profession!" And I myself have heard King James say, that the clergy pay enough in conscience; but for the laymen, sometimes a man of one thousand pounds per annum pays but forty shillings' subsidy, and what is that?*

Now mention is made of Sir Christopher Perkins and his marriage, a man whom I very well knew, and by this good token, that he offered to

* Fuller, who knew him well, tells the same anecdote of the treasurer in his Church History. The character he gives of Lord Cranfield exactly coincides with Goodman's narrative.

resign unto me his deanery of Carlisle, which I refused, because I expected a better. I will therefore make bold to acquaint you with the condition of this man: most of it I heard from himself, the rest I heard from good testimonies, and you shall see God's judgment upon him. He was a priest, bred up in the seminaries, and a professed Jesuit, at what time Mr. William Cecil, afterward Earl of Exeter, and then son and heir to Sir Thomas Cecil, and grandchild to Sir William Cecil Lord Burleigh, lord high treasurer, in his travelling came to Rome; where I do remember, what Mr. Camden told me what he heard him say, that while he was travelling in Italy he did verily believe his brains were dessicated, and that his wits were much poorer than they were before. This Sir William* coming to Rome, notice was taken of him in the English College, and some might desperately say, that seeing his grandfather Treasurer Burleigh had been the cause of apprehending so many priests and putting them to death, they saw no reason but they might apprehend his grandchild and the heir of his house. This was only spoken among young people; but such as were in authority did consider that they had no wars, that he came in a peacable way, and therefore there was no reason the young gentleman should suffer

* This William Cecil turned Papist when in Rome; and there is a strange letter of Lord Burghley's to Sir Edw. Stafford,

anything for his grandfather's faults. Others did show him favour and respect, but Mr. Perkins possessed him with fears, and took upon him to direct him ; and when he had seen Rome and the monuments thereof, Mr. Perkins did conduct him out of the city, and being a man of a very great understanding, and Mr. Cecil delighting much in his company, he persuaded him to accompany him here into England ; who coming together, Mr. Cecil did recommend him to his grandfather for a wise, understanding man, and one who had taken much care of him at his being in Rome. And withal having been a Jesuit, he was now become a convert to the Church of England. My Lord Burleigh did soon after procure him the deanery of Carlisle, and, as his fashion was, he did never desire to see a churchman have any other employment, but only his ministry. Then did Mr. Perkins resolve to live and die a private man in the country ; but, as he told me, being all alone and having no employment, he became melancholy, for remedy whereof he did resolve to come up to London, and to take any, the meanest employment, rather than with his ease to live discontentedly. And here in London he found a very active bishop, Bishop Bancroft with whom he did much converse ; and Bishop Bander-
desiring him to return thanks, through the Abbot del Bene, to Cardinal Savello for the kindness he had shown to his grandson.—See Murdin, 569.

croft did make use of him, both for his discovery beyond seas, and likewise upon other occasions; and by the bishop's means, as I take it, there being an old master of requests, Sir Daniel Dunne, who could not attend nor was able to execute his office, it was so contrived that Mr. Perkins should be his substitute; and had he not had such an employment, I do easily believe that he would have been a civilian. Being thus a substitute, the old man dying, another was made master of requests; but Sir Christopher having discharged the place, and so being known to his majesty, I doubt not but by Archbishop Bancroft's means he regained the possession of the place, and now was admitted master of requests in his own right.

Truly, he had a very great understanding. I have sometimes sate by him when he hath read his petitions and epitomized them, and therein he had an excellent faculty; but he had another fashion which I could not altogether approve. For if several persons were nominated in the petition, then, if he could, he would send for all parties, and tell them that he had a petition against them, and if they could take any exceptions against it, did desire to acquaint the King with the whole truth, that so his majesty might do justice accordingly. Some did conceive this to proceed out of an honest intention, while others did fear it was to get fees on both sides; and sometimes the reference was so uncertain and

so ambiguous, after they had paid fees on both sides, that no man could tell to whom the reference did most incline. Thus, being master of requests, he was knighted; and then he thought himself fit for any employment, and did resolve to make trial how far it was possible, for a professed Jesuit, to what height of honour, dignity, and preferment he might raise himself by his wit.

It is thought that he had a hand in the oath of allegiance; for thus it hath ever been the practice of political men to oppose the Church to the State, that so by the power of the one they might suppress the other. Thus, in the birth of Christ, Herod was persuaded that his kingdom could not subsist unless he did murder Christ with the Innocents; thus, in the preaching of Christ, the question was proposed unto him, Is it lawful to pay tribute unto Cæsar? so tempting Christ; thus, in the arraignment of Christ, If thou dismiss this man, thou art no friend unto Cæsar, —still opposing Cæsar to Christ. So the way to overthrow religion, as some conceive, is to oppose it to civil allegiance, and so it may properly be made treason: whereas the supremacy respecting only a spiritual power, some conceive cannot be treason against the temporal magistrate. But by these and such like courses notice was taken of Sir Christopher Perkins while he did aspire to no mean offices, and the way to attain these was by the favourite of whom the King was so fond as

that he could deny him nothing. And as the favourite had young cousins for heirs and the like, so he thought he might have some old aunts for old men, who having good offices and so gathered wealth, might leave it to the kindred; and none more likely, as he thought, than his mother's sister. And although Sir Christopher had vowed virginity, yet he never vowed against marriage; and certain it is, that some have observed chastity in marriage, as Edward the Confessor; and it is most sure, that even before marriage Sir Christopher did contract and condition with his lady that he could pay no debts, and the lady very modestly answered that she would expect none, which her ladyship did conceive might be only in regard of his age, but certainly it had likewise some other relation to the vow that he had made.

Here you have Sir Christopher Perkins now a married man,—I was once about to have made him his nuptial song; here he is now expecting great matters; if his son-in-law was no less than lord high treasurer, then what might not he expect? But it so fell out, that good Buckingham hearing that he had made a vow, and of his condition, began to loathe and detest him, and resolved that he should never have anything by his means; for the Duke of Buckingham was very catholicly inclining, only he durst not show it in the least kind for fear of offending the King and

prince. Thus, then, Sir Christopher must content himself with what he had, and making the best of his office, surely he lived well ; but dying awhile after, he thought how he might revenge himself on the kindred, and left his wife as little as it was possible, or to any of hers. It should seem, then, he thought her not to be his wife ; and it is not impossible but if the old man had lived a little longer, he might have sued out a nullity. Now to see how God did blind him—he left his whole estate unto a servant, whom he knew to be deeply in a consumption, and who could not possibly live one quarter of a year : he was a childless man, yet Sir Christopher made him his heir ; yet this man, knowing he could not live, dealt very lovingly and kindly with the lady, so she had a great part of the estate—nothing from Sir Christopher, but all from the serving-man.

CHAPTER XX.

Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato.—Account of his coming into England.—Sir Dudley Carleton and Archbishop Abbot very forward in inviting him.—Mastership of the Savoy and Deanery of Windsor given him.—Quarrels with the Canons of Windsor.—Becomes discontented.—Is neglected.—Corresponds with the Roman Catholic ministers.—Desires to return;—proceedings thereupon.—Ordered to leave the kingdom.—His trunks seized; restored by order of King James.—The Inquisition proceeds against him.

HERE I will acquaint you with another churchman no less famous, and that was the Archbishop of Spalato. I will speak of the occasion of his coming hither, and of his departure, and then of his death. I had reason to know these two men: the one would have resigned over his deanery, but the other did resign over his parsonage unto me. As it falls out about the King's court that titles of honour are very frequent and usual, so that to be a knight about the court is not in effect more than to be a mean gentleman in a remote country; so it is that bishoprics and archbishoprics near the papacy are not of that greatness and revenue as are the bishoprics of far-distant churches. Popes in regard of their

birth and alliance have been apt to erect bishoprics and archbishoprics, so then Spalato's was a poor archbishopric in the Venetian's dominion, and when Paulus Quintus fell out with the Venetians, then did the churchmen on both sides stir in the business, and Spalato being an ambitious man and never able to get any preferment in the Church, did adhere to the State; and great undertakings were on both sides. It pleased God that by the means of Henry the Fourth, the French King, the Church and the State were reconciled; then, as it is with great trees falling one upon another, they do themselves little hurt, but the bushes and shrubs which are between both are beaten down and shivered to pieces; so now the Church and the State being reconciled, it must fall heavily upon those who were active on both sides and did nourish the difference. Here Spalato durst not return to his own, so lest he might be seized upon by the Inquisition, and living at Venice, as he made little of his archbishopric (for pensions and other incumbrances were laid upon it), besides his own chargeableness in living at Venice, and being a man of extraordinary parts for his learning, his apprehension, and intellectuals, finding no means to make his peace, he now began to write books of the abuses in the Papacy, and living in Serenissima Republica Venetorum, he would likewise make a commonwealth in the Church, following therein the example of the

Calvinists, who with their lay elders would therefore engage the civil magistrate in the government of the Church. And having composed some great volumes, he himself brought them to our English ambassador in Venice, and there began to acquaint him that he had lived long in the Roman Church, that he did see that there were many abuses and corruptions crept into that Church, which he himself in his own heart did detest, yet was not able to correct or reform, yet for his own particular satisfaction he did desire to live in a Church reformed, and of all other Churches he commended most the Church of England, and did heartily wish that his means lay there; and if my lord ambassador could but procure an exchange, he would be very glad to live and die a member of the Church of England, and would daily pray for his lordship. My lord ambassador was then Sir Dudley Carleton, who did ask of the bishop what means would give him content; whose answer was, that he did desire to live very privately, that he knew how to live with a little, that he had renounced the glory of the world, yet so it is that he was old and must have the use of a servant, and if he had but two hundred pounds per annum, he thought it would be a good competency. And thereupon my lord ambassador did promise him to give him a fair answer within a short time.

Then did the ambassador acquaint King James,

who thought that the quarrel of Venice had been an effect of his own book written for the oath of allegiance, and therefore did the more approve of the bishop and did desire to relieve him. The King acquainted the Archbishop of Canterbury,* who was very forward in the contribution, and did desire that it might be laid upon the bishops, and he would give him lodging and diet at his own house; so the bishop was sent unto that he should have his own desires, let him come as soon as he pleased.

Here Spalato so contrived it, that he might come as little as he could through Catholic countries, lest he might be trapped by the Inquisition, but he came to the palatinate through Holland, and so hither. The King did use him most graciously, and the first thing that was done was to assign him his place. It was fit an archbishop under the State of Venice should yield to our archbishops, and as the order hath ever been that ever next the archbishop some great officer should sit, as first Canterbury, then the chancellor, next York, then the treasurer, then Spalato. And here the archbishop did very kindly invite him and entertain him at his house in Lambeth, so for the pension that should have been allowed by the bishops something was paid, and at length he grew as weary of receiving it as they were of paying it, and having lived long at Lambeth

* George Abbot.

House, they grew even weary of him, for he was somewhat an unquiet man, and not of that fair, quiet, civil carriage as would give contentment. This he perceiving made bold to write unto the King, desiring him that he might not live always at another man's table, but that he might have some subsistence of his own: whereupon the King so contrived it, that although the mastership of the Savoy had been given to another, yet was it resigned and conferred upon him, and, about half a year after, the deanery of Windsor; both which preferments might amount to four hundred and thirty pounds per annum,* or thereabout, the King giving him no certain pension, yet gave him a very good New-year's gift every year.† For the Queen, he at first presented her

* Dr. Hacket says, they were worth eight hundred pounds per annum.—Life of Williams, i. 98.

† Fuller has preserved an anecdote illustrative of his hypocrisy and avarice. "Above all, King James, whose hands were seldom shut to any and always open to men of merit, was most munificent unto him, highly rejoicing that Rome had lost, and England got, such a jewel. How many of our English youth were taken out of our universities into Italy, and there taught treason and heresy together? This aged prelate of eminent parts, coming thence of his own accord, would make a plentiful reparation for the departure of many novices. The King consigned him to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his present entertainments, till he might be accommodated to subsist of himself, and, as an earnest of his bounty, sent him to Lambeth a fine bason and bowl of silver, which Spalato received with this compliment: *Misit mihi Rex Magnæ Britanniae polubrum argenteum ad abstergendas sordes Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et*

with some book, and she gave him a New-year's gift of forty marks, or thirty pounds per annum : and there were some noblemen who likewise gave him New-year's gifts, but they were not considerable.

He was a man of a very deep understanding, and of an unquiet spirit. In Windsor he fell out with the canons ; but it lasted not long. They gave him a small lease. And whereas some of the canons pretended they would not put out an old tenant, because it might be supposed they were our founder's tenants, and we ourselves holding what we had *ex purâ eleemosynâ*, God forbid but we should deal with all other in the greatest charity and love ! And so truly we did, insomuch, that I dare boldly say that most of our Church tenants did live more happily upon their leases than others

poculum argenteum ad imbibendam Evangelii puritatem :—The King of Great Britain hath sent me a silver bason to wash from me the filth of the Roman Church, and a silver cup to mind me to drink the purity of the Gospel. Preferment is quickly found out and conferred upon him : as the deanery of Windsor, (though founded not in a cathedral, but collegiate church,) one of the genteelest and entirest dignities of the land ; the mastership of the Hospital of the Savoy, with a good parsonage at West Islesly in Berkshire, being a peculiar belonging to the episcopal jurisdiction to the Dean of Windsor. And finding one precedent in his predecessor, he collated this parsonage on himself, and then made shift for so much English as sufficed him to read the Nine and thirty Articles, as an author there present hath informed me."—Church History, x. 94. Fuller has given several other instances of this man's abominable and unholy avarice.

did upon their own inheritance : they could not alien their leases without our consent, and we would never consent unless it were to the great advantage of the tenant ; we did preserve the lease for the benefit of orphans, or if it were to be divided among daughters, we did see an equal distribution. We have sat in court leets and court barons where the homage have gone to see the very place where the difference was, and there they have determined it and ended it without the paying of one fee, without either writ or process ; and, God knows, I would never desire a fairer trial for my life and all that I have. When we came to visit our tenants, we never asked the value, but the renewing of their leases : we took all at their own relation, yet we knew they did undervalue things, but we did desire to use them as Church tenants.

There was not a lord in England who had his estate better ordered and managed than the Church of Windsor ; there were not better stewards or accomptants among lawyers or merchants than we had in that church. The poor were continually relieved, workmen employed ; the very title which we had of *Opera Artificium*, did usually amount in our yearly accompts to five hundred pounds or thereabouts. God was there daily and continually served like a God, with the greatest magnificence : we had there all the means of devotion, as music and

outward ceremonies. There the great order of the Garter was founded, whereof so many emperors, kings, and princes have been the companions, and whereby the meanest knight, suppose Sir Harry Leigh, hath been a peer and companion of emperors, which is the highest honour which could be imparted and given them; where they made solemn vows for the protection of Church and religion, for the defence and relief of orphans and widows; where the grounds of all courage and fortitude were laid; where, together with their offerings of silver and gold, they did offer up their heart and all their endeavours unto God; where there was such a mutual love to each other, and such a due reverence to the sovereign; where all the heralds and officers of honour were attending, and this concluded with a most bountiful entertainment; where the plenty of the whole country and God's great blessings did appear: where the lords servants in their blue coats and chains of gold, being very usually of the best sort of the gentlemen, did attend their lordships, that strangers and foreign ambassadors being admitted spectators, they did but wonder to see the state and magnificence of England, and that men were not afraid to show their wealth and their treasures in their jewels and chains of gold as being secured, that they should not be made a booty and prey, but that every man should safely and quietly enjoy his own, which made very much for the

honour of the justice of this island, and that strangers might be thereby encouraged to transport their wealth hither, so to make this island the magazine of their treasures, and thus were we the glory of the whole world.

For the Savoy, which was a brave foundation of Henry the Seventh, and did rather serve for passengers, when men had occasion to come to London to seek service, that they might have their entertainment until they could be provided,—this house, in the unhappy time of that child King Edward the Sixth, when the court did abound with factions, then was this hospital dissolved, and again restored by Queen Mary, when her ladies did supply it with furniture and beds; and being so infinitely spoiled and robbed as it was, it hath not yet recovered itself, nor can be directed to that good end to which it was erected, nor come to any perfection.

Thus was Spalato an eye-witness of the intolerable sacrilege and the rapine in those days: he himself, though a stranger, found out a way to relieve that hospital; for he found out an error in the foundation; and the foundation failing, certainly all those leases which were grounded upon the foundation must likewise fail and be utterly void. All things being void, they did devolve to the King's hands, and were at his disposing, and then he might erect an hospital according to the intent of the founder.

Spalato being of that unquiet disposition in whom little devotion did appear, every day he grew to be more and more neglected. And first, they who had formerly given him place began now to take it of him; the King did likewise dislike a Latin sermon which he made, wherein he defended the dormition of souls until the last day of judgment; and he finding himself to decline in credit, hearing that the prince was gone into Spain, he gave himself over then as a lost man, expecting that when the Spaniards came hither they would offer him up in sacrifice. He did likewise see that there were many Recusants, and that they were very much courted and all the best of the nobility came to visit them. It fell out likewise about the same time that Paulus Quintus, the pope, whom he had offended, died; and to him succeeded, as I take it, Gregory, who had been a schoolfellow, and, as he said, there was a little kindred between them. Spalato hearing of his election, wrote unto him to congratulate his election, and that he did assure himself that God had a hand therein, and that it was for the great good of the Christian world, and that he himself should think himself very happy to die a member of that church wherein God had made him his high priest; that himself was never alienated in mind and affection from the Catholic Church, only did desire to fly from persecution, and the more to ingratiate himself unto them who were to receive him, he

did only palliate some plausible opinions, yet with no contumacious mind, but with a full desire and resolution to submit himself to better judgments, that is, to the voice of the Shepherd and to the determination of the Catholic Church. Notwithstanding his interest in the pope, yet he durst not commit himself to his mercy, but he went to the several Catholic ambassadors that were then resident about London, and began to comply with them, telling them, that his coming over into England was to do some great good service to God's Catholic Church, which he thought he might be the better enabled to do if he were but an eye-witness and present in person, and so to procure the peace of God's Church; but having now had sufficient experience, he finds that the time is not yet come, that things are not ripened for the settlement and establishment of that peace, and himself being now grown very old, not fit for labours and employments, he did desire to return to his own country, to die a member of the Church of Rome and to be buried with his fathers: and whereas he had offended the Church, he desired the several ambassadors to be means to their masters and princes that they would procure his pardon; which they promised very effectually to do, so desirous they were to make a convert, and that his return to the Church might take away that scandal and offence which was occasioned by his fall; and

this they did very speedily, and their masters returned their answer that they would interpose for him.

Here now at length King James began to have notice of his departure, being wonderfully sorry that he had been so cheated and cozened by an imposter: and here he bethought himself what course he should take. Being a stranger, coming, with leave into the kingdom, being an old man and an archbishop, he thought it could not stand with his honour either to hinder his journey or to imprison him, especially he pretending conscience and religion, and that no great heinous crime could be laid to his charge. Yet the King did resolve to put some disgrace upon him, because he had deluded him; and while the King was thus resolving, he receives a letter from Spalato to this effect: that he gave his majesty most humble and hearty thanks for the preferments and kind entertainment which he had received from his majesty, and did daily desire God to reward him; that he should not fail to make known unto other states his great bounty unto him; that his coming over was truly to inform himself of the state of the Church of England, which now perfectly knowing and finding it to be a commendable Church, he doubted not but to do it better service by his absence than if he should continue here, by a true relation, whereof he himself was an eyewitness, of the orders and decency of this church,

and of the great learning, wisdom, and piety of the clergy. And being now very old, troubled with some infirmities, he did desire to be buried with his fathers, and therefore did humbly crave leave of departure; that as he came in with his majesty's leave so he might leave the kingdom with his approbation; and to that end he would make bold to attend his majesty, that he might have the honour to kiss his hand, whereby all men might take notice that he was in his good opinion. And he would daily pray for his majesty's long life and happiness.

The King hereupon calls Dr. Younge, Dean of Winchester, and wills him to repair to Spalato,* and to deal with him as effectually as he could that he should not come into the court; but if he could not dissuade him in fair terms, that then he should command him in the King's name that he should not dare to come near the court. He willed him further to take order that Spalato did not secretly fly away, but especially of his goods and of his money, that they might not be conveyed away without the King's leave, for that could not be done by law, and willingly the King would not be

* An account of the King's proceedings with De Dominis, and that prelate's letters to the King, will be found in a pamphlet published by Dr. Neyle, Bishop of Durham, entitled, "M. Aut. de Dominis, Archb. of Spalato, his shiftings in religion." London 1624. — See also Fuller's Church History under the year 1622.

cozened the second time by such an imposter. This was the rather done because Spalato was hiring a house by the water-side near Greenwich, and as they said he had hired a small ketch to carry him over. The King gave likewise a commission to some bishops to examine him of the causes of his departure, and withal to tax him very much for writing to the pope, the King's professed enemy, which by law he ought not to have done, and was a misdemeanour punishable in the Star-chamber. Dr. Younge took order that the gates should be watched, both the water-gate and the street-gate, and that if he should go in London he should be watched, and if he should go by water the water-men should follow him and apprehend him.

The Dean of Winchester found that his plate and what he purposed to carry over with him was sent to an ambassador's house who was shortly to go out of the kingdom; and a special eye and care was had of those trunks.

For the bishop, they did examine him; and he would confess no other cause but that he had a desire to die in his own country, and to be buried with his ancestors. Being asked whether he did purpose to change his opinions in religion, especially such as he had printed, his answer was, that he had no intent to change his religion, but would live and die in his opinions and seal them with his blood; though afterwards he did recant, and

that very shamefully. Being reprehended that he should dare to write to the pope, the King's professed enemy, his answer was, that he knew him not to be the King's enemy, and that he was certain he had never offended the King, for that he was newly come to the papacy. But the bishops told him, that it was not the person of the pope, but his office, the papacy, as he did claim a government in this kingdom, and as he sent priests hither whose very entrance into the kingdom is no less than high treason. To whom Spalato answered, that he had wrote unto the pope's person in regard of former acquaintance, and not in regard of his office. But at length the bishops thought fit to banish him, and appointed him a very short day, and commanded him to depart before that day upon pain of imprisonment; so his trunks were to go after him.

But I should have told you, that while the watch was kept at all the gates, it was generally given out throughout the whole city that Spalato was a prisoner in his own house; which he hearing and taking it very ill, to disprove the report, or at least to make trial whether he was under any restraint—having sold his own coach and everything else that would any way make money, he hires a hackney-coach, and sitting on the side, he went through all London. Presently the scouts followed the coach. He had no business at all; only, sometimes, when he came by a bookbinder's

shop, he would inquire whether they had such and such books, which he knew they had not. And so he went through all the streets to show himself that he was not under any restraints. And now the time of his exile being come, he went out of the kingdom.

But, like a provident man, he left his trunks and his treasure, no doubt but with the ambassador's leave, in the custody of some of his followers, his steward not knowing thereof. And when the trunks were come to Gravesend and the steward was ready to convey them to the ship, an officer came to him, and told him, that sometimes when ambassadors had had great entertainment of the King and had been richly rewarded, yet their servants did colour and transport other mens goods; therefore they had command to search whether any other goods were there but the lord-ambassador's. The steward did assure them that there were none others. This did not suffice, they would search; and so coming to Spalato's trunks, they knew them very well and seized upon them. In the trunks there was what he had in New-year's gifts, and what he had saved out of his pensions, the sum of sixteen or seventeen hundred pounds. Moneys to be transported out of the kingdom are forfeited by law, and so the King did him no wrong in seizing and detaining them. Whenas once Spalato heard that his trunks were intercepted, lying now

in Holland in expectation of his trunks, he wrote to the King and procured all the ambassadors to join with him, that seeing it was all his stock and treasure and the means that he had to live upon, which he confessed he had by the King's own bounty and free benevolence, that therefore the same goodness would permit him to enjoy it, whereby he might live and subsist daily to pray for his majesty, and that he might not starve in his old age. When the King had made it appear that he was as provident as Spalato was deceitful, and what he had, as it was his own free gift, so the carrying away was but his courtesy, then he permitted him, and caused the trunks to be restored.

Now Spalato having his trunks, posted to Rome, where the princes had procured his pardon, so that he lived securely; but most of the cardinals would not vouchsafe to look upon him or have any acquaintance with him. Some of the inferior clergy were appointed to treat with him and to cause him to make a recantation, which he did in a very strange manner and so lived there very contemptibly. Some English came sometimes to visit him, to whom he gave this counsel, that they should forbear coming, for it was not safe for them to come, nor safe for him to give them access.* And not living long, when he was

* Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, accompanied by Dr. Fitzherbert, Rector of the English College,

upon his death-bed, they that were about him sent up and down all Rome to find out Englishmen, and that they should repair there at such an hour. And at that time the ghostly father brings them all into Spalato's chamber, and speaks to Spalato to this effect: "My lord, by your forsaking the Catholic Church and going to the Church of England, you have thereby given great offence, and many are much scandalized thereby; and by your printing of books and your opinions therein many still doubt how you stand affected in religion. You are now passed hope of life, and here are many English gentlemen come to see you. It is fit that now you should declare in what faith and religion you die, that so you may make some satisfaction for your former revolt."

paid a visit, when at Rome, to the archbishop. He found him shut up in a ground-chamber, narrow and dark, which looked out upon a blank wall, about three paces distant. After the usual civilities, Sir Edward said to him: "My Lord of Spalato, you have here a dark lodging; it was not so with you in England: there you had at Windsor as good a prospect by land as was in all the country; and at the Savoy you had the best prospect upon the water that was in all the city."—"I have forgot those things," said the bishop: "here I can best contemplate the kingdom of heaven." Sir Edward taking Fitzherbert aside into the next room, says to him, "Sir, tell me honestly, do you think this man is employed in the contemplation of heaven?" Says the father rector, "I think nothing less: for he was a male-content knave when he fled from us, a railing knave while he lived with you, and a motley, parti-coloured knave now he is come again."—Hacket's *Life of Williams*, Part I. p. 104.

Whereupon Spalato took a crucifix which then lay upon the bed and kissed it, and used these words: "I do die a member of the Roman Catholic Church." And when he was dead, his study was searched, and there were found certain papers which did imply his opinion to be that there was *Inequalitas personarum in Sanctâ Trinitate*. This being added to his former revolt, it was thought fit to proceed against him. Advocates were retained on both sides, and after much discussion it was resolved that he died in a state of heresy, and so his body was burned.*

* A brief account of the proceedings against De Dominis, after his death, has been published by Dalrymple, in his Memorials relative to the reign of James I. p. 140.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Author gives some instances of King James' partiality for him, and Buckingham's generosity. — Account of the matches of the two Princes, Henry and Charles. — Trick of the French embassy during the match of the former. — Conversation of Gondomar and Lenox respecting the Spanish match, projected by the Prince. — The King's passionate outcries when it was broken to him ; — the stratagems made use of. — Buckingham's conduct in Spain.

WHEREAS the knight saith that Dean Bargrave* paid a pension ; truly thus far I can acquit him, that I heard King James promise him a preferment ; and when I was at dinner with Secretary Conway, I know that the Secretary took order that a caveat should be entered that Bargrave should have the first deanery ; and hitherto Buckingham had no hand in the business. But because here is mention made of much simony, and of pensions and the like, give me leave, for the discharge of my own conscience, and in my thankfulness to God and the memory of King James, to relate

* See an account of Dr. Bargrave in Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 687. He was an intimate friend of the celebrated Padre Paolo, and a great sufferer in the civil wars.

a truth, and so let God be merciful to my soul as I shall relate nothing but the truth. Being a little known to King James, when I never used any means unto him, nor to my knowledge did ever any man speak one word in my behalf, then did King James in a morning send John Packer unto me, to tell me, that his majesty had a full resolution to prefer me, and to bring me to some good place in the Church; and lest his majesty should forget me, he had therefore commanded Buckingham to put him in mind of me; and lest Buckingham, having many suitors, might forget me, the King commanded John Packer to put him in mind of me; and lest John Packer should forget me, the King had sent him unto me, to engage himself unto me that he would solicit my business. Hereupon I never came unto John Packer but I had instantly access: I never proposed anything unto him but I had a true and real answer; no dilatory or complimentary words. The year following, I displeased his majesty, and thereby I lost a very good preferment; the year after, I had the deanery of Rochester, which was a very good preferment and very agreeable to my disposition, for I did ever love seamen, and those of the King's navy were my special friends. When I came to give his majesty thanks, his majesty did seem to be more joyful in giving it than I could express joy in receiving it, using these words,—that I should not give a farthing.

When I was made bishop, in my instruments there was the mistaking of some words, which I did fear was wilfully done, only to draw on a fee; then the secretary had for mending those words twenty pieces; then I sent a piece of plate to Buckingham, which I think cost me between forty and fifty pounds. This he would not receive, but sent it back again and rewarded the messenger with three pieces. So that I think no honest man could blame King James or the Duke of Buckingham.

And now I come to the matching of our two princes Henry and Charles, and how they were deluded in their matches. For Prince Henry, I speak it from one that was then present in Spain, that it is true Prince Henry did desire the match; but, upon the very first overture thereof, the King of Spain, Philip the Third, who was known to be a plain honest man, did desire to be excused that he could not then treat thereof; which Prince Henry took as a denial, and took it very ill from the Spaniard. Some thought it had been in respect of religion; for though he had three sons, yet they were weaklings: two of them died without issue, whereof one was the cardinal. But the true reason was this,—that at that time, and in effect even from the very infancy, there was always intended and desired a double match between France and Spain, that if it were possible to reconcile these two

monarchs, certainly a great peace and quietness would follow in the Christian world: but now they are, and long have been, and so are like to continue, the two great heads of factions, and all other princes and states have dependency on them; and if the least difference fall between any, presently these two great monarchs are engaged in the war; and swords being once drawn out, they are not so easily put up. And certainly at that instant time there was a treaty of that double match, although it was kept most secret. This was a little after the death of that great king, Henry the Fourth. Not long after, there was a great ambassador appointed to go from France to Spain; and the pretence was for the renewing of some league and the settling of the peace between the two kingdoms. The ambassador himself knew of no other employment. King James had a suspicion, and sent to his own Lieger ambassador to harken after the commission and the business of that great French ambassador. As I remember, Sir Thomas Edmonds did assure King James that it did no way concern any match; but another of our Liegers had a shrewd suspicion that some might be in the ambassador's company that might privately treat of such a business. And so it was indeed. The ambassador himself went in a complement, with all his bravery and greatness, and others were in his company in whom the whole trust was reposed for concluding the business,

which as soon as it came to the ambassador's knowledge, it had like to have cost him his life, his sorrow and melancholy was such that he should be made a stale, that such a disgrace and dishonour should be put upon him, that he should be at all the charge and expense and yet not thought to be worthy to be made acquainted with a business of that high nature. But when he was acquainted what a great opposition would be in that match if it had been publicly known, and how necessary it was that it should be kept most private and secret, and he was rewarded for his embassy, he was then well pacified. King James did not oppose the match, but did desire it might be respited till the French king came to years; and to that end his ambassador did interpose, pretending that promises had passed on either side between King James and Henry the Fourth, that the survivor should have a special care of the other's children; and namely, in their marriage. That it would be more for the health of young King Lewis if he stayed until riper years; and usually the love between the married couple is greater when in effect they make choice of their own wives. And no doubt but that the conditions might be more for his advantage, so he did not desire the breach of the match, but that it might be respected until his riper years. Notwithstanding these suggestions, the match was concluded, and after a while solemnized. So the

Spaniard never did hold Prince Henry in suspense, or delude him ; which if he had, King James had cunning and subtilty enough to have taken better heed, and not to have been deluded in the second match.

Now for the match between King Charles and Spain. I will begin from Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, and his departure from the English court ; who having taken his leave of the King and the Prince at court, came to Lodowic, then Duke of Lenox, afterwards Duke of Richmond, to take his leave of him ; and, after many words passed in compliment, the duke did inquire of him very earnestly, “ My lord, I pray deal plainly with me : shall we have a match or no ? ” — “ Truly,” quoth Count Gondomar, “ I have signified thus much to the King, that if his majesty doth any way doubt of my master’s intention, he doth him great wrong, not only because he hath already proceeded so far in the business and made these great promises, but where could my master in all Christendom match his daughter with a greater advantage, either to a greater prince or to one who may be more helpful or hurtful unto him, or with whom he should hold more correspondency ? But I hope it is not conceived that my master would bestow his daughter with so large a portion, greater than ever was given or received by a Christian prince ; that instantly my master’s daughter should be

committed to prison, together with all her followers and servants, and there be subject to all the penalties of Recusancy ; or that she must either forsake her religion and leave the use and exercise of it, for that it is death for a priest to say mass. Unless this be yielded, that there may be some toleration in that kind, assuredly my master will never admit of a treaty. Then, secondly, all marriages must tend to amity and leagues: for that my master should part with a million for his daughter's portion, it is not that the money be laid out to buy arms to fight with him, or to support his enemies against him ; but marriages may serve to unite. And upon these conditions, there is no question but all things will be concluded." When the Duke of Lenox heard these propositions, immediately after the departure of the ambassador, the duke did acquaint some of his friends with the passages, and did resolve that it would never be a marriage, for that it could not stand with the laws and safety of this kingdom to permit a toleration of religion, neither yet with the grounds and policy of state to cast off the Hollanders : and thereby concluded that the match would not proceed.

King James, on the contrary, was very forward for the match, and made a difference between the giving of a toleration in public, and a particular dispensation of one household and family. If foreign ambassadors be or ever have been per-

mitted to have the free use and exercise of their own religion, then why may not a foreign princess do the like? The Queen is but a subject, and hath no hand in the government; and for supporting the Hollanders, his majesty may do as hitherto he hath done, show himself indifferent between Spain and Holland; and this would serve to give the Spaniard contentment. And knowing how much it imports the safety of a State to have foreign alliance, what causes of dislike and faction it would be to match at home; besides the exhausting of the treasure and revenue, to raise up new families; and of all other Christian princes conceiving it to be most fit to match with the Spaniard, as Henry the Seventh, that wise, great prince did; stood still constant and resolute in his first intention.

And to that end, as it hath ever been the practice in court, when they desire the love and correspondency of a foreign prince, to prefer them who have done that prince some service, and may be supposed to be gracious and acceptable unto him, (especially in the concluding of a match, that such persons might be in readiness to give information, to acquaint them with the manner and condition of that country, to be employed in any message, or upon any other occasion of business:) thus Cornwallis, who himself and ancestors had been attendants and followers of the House of Norfolk, by the means of Henry

Howard Earl of Northampton, a brother of that house, was made lord ambassador into Spain ; and having continued there but a little time, being as it should seem a needy man, upon his return, as a reward of his service, he was made either treasurer or comptroller of Prince Henry's house, when the match with Spain was intended for him : so now Prince Charles desiring the like match, Cottington, who had been an agent in Spain and was very well beloved there, was made secretary to Prince Charles. And now it was fully resolved that we should use our best endeavours for the procuring of that match.

For the manner of accomplishing it, who should contrive it I know not, but I do easily believe Prince Charles himself, because I know him to have been very apt to try conclusions ; that he was active, an excellent horseman, and never perfectly well but when he was in action ; that his tutor Murray had put spirit into him : and therefore, calling to mind that his father* had gone into Denmark to fetch his wife there ; that his grandfather, living in the heart of England, went into Scotland to marry ; that his great-grandfather, James the Fifth, went into France several times, first to match with the French king's daughter, then with the Lady Mary of Lorraine, a most

* See the account of this odd affair, which was something of a counterpart to his son's knight-errantry, in the letters of Fowler and Lord Burghley, in Murdin, p. 640, *et seq.*

virtuous and good lady, descended of a most religious family; that it hath been heretofore very frequent and usual to have an interview between kings and princes, and no occasion could be so fit and proper as an intended marriage; that God had blessed him with an able body fit for any exercise or recreation, with great intellectuals fit to enter into any treaty himself; that God had blessed him with a civil carriage, mild and temperate, no way passionate as some princes were, whereby he might discover his weakness; and thus being every way complete, he conceived that his journey might greatly improve his experience, and the world might thereby take notice of his abilities. Thus I think it was his own invention, and proceeded from himself. Yet I confess Count Gondomar was a very cunning man, and might put him upon such a project, and without giving him any counsel or advising him thereunto, for that had been too gross and palpable, and such as might have proved dangerous to the counsellor, yet with his stories and relation he might infuse such a notion into him. For the good Duke of Buckingham, I do easily believe he did but second the prince, and only observe him.

Now how this business should be broken to the King. It was noted about nine weeks before the prince's going into Spain, that the King the prince and the duke were together all alone in

the bedchamber, and at several times the prince would come to the door and look out to see if any other were in the next chamber or did listen unto them. Whereupon they did conceive that it was some great business that they were consulting upon, and by all likelihood did conceive that the King did break out into outcries and exclamations proceeding from the strength of his passion, as it is not unusual for men of his disposition to do.* And when they had been thus for a month or thereabout, upon a sudden there came out a strong report throughout all the court that the duke was instantly to go to Spain upon a solemn embassy. This I conceive was but a preparative to see how the people stood affected to the Spanish match. Dr. Hackwell, poor man, had suffered in a business of that kind; but it was not any particular notion, but a general, against all papists, that a protestant should marry a papist. Now, though I think it very ill done by Dr. Hackwell, yet out of my love unto him I will thus far excuse him: that as the Church of Rome thinks it not lawful for any of their Church to marry with a protestant without the pope's dispensation, so the protestants having no such dispensation in use, therefore they may think it unlawful: and as King James himself was wont

* This confirms Lord Clarendon's account of this interview. He has described it with inimitable skill and exquisite humour. See Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 23, *et seq.*

to say that he was a very unhappy man who could not match his own children without his enemy's dispensation, and to accept the pope's dispensation were in some sort to acknowledge his power. Thus I could wish that Dr. Hackwell* had not suffered so much: yet I confess he was much to be blamed; for even our Saviour Christ was descended of Jews and Gentiles, and yet certainly he was not descended of unlawful

* Dr. George Hakewill, Archdeacon of Surrey, and afterwards Rector of Exeter College in Oxford. He was one of Prince Charles's chaplains, and was banished for a time from court, for circulating a tract of a rather violent nature against the Spanish match, which was then in contemplation. The displeasure of the King, however, was neither violent nor lasting; for "during this time," observes Fuller, in his *Worthies*, p. 280, "a great lord, who shall be nameless, with great importunity endeavoured to beg away all his church preferment, to dispose of at his pleasure: 'No,' said King James, 'I mean not thus to part with the man.'" In the time of the troubles, Dr. Hakewill was chosen Bishop of Lincoln, to support the episcopal order, then fast falling into decay. He was in appearance a man of estimable temper, though frequently engaged in controversy, and, among others, with Bishop Goodman himself, respecting the fall of man. He gave all persons an excellent example, says Lloyd, in the government of his own family, to whom he often repeated these lines of the pious George Herbert:

"Pitch thy behaviour low, thy projects high,
So shalt thou humble and magnanimous be:
Sink not in spirit; who aimeth at the sky
Shoots higher much than he that means a tree.
A grain of glory mixed with humbleness,
Cures both a fever and lethargicness."

Memoirs, p. 540.

marriages; and there is a far greater distance between Jews and Gentiles than there is between the two Churches, wherein reasons of state and political respects make the breach wider than it should be. Amurath the Third, the great Turk, who stood very well inclining to Christian religion, was wont to say that he had found out a means very easily to conclude all the differences in Christianity;—that the pope, an old bachelor, should marry Queen Elizabeth, an old maid, and then all the petty princes and states would soon shiver and come to nothing.

Now drew on the time for the prince's going into Spain. King James did consider that his daughter being with the Hollanders, his son with the Spaniards, the two opposite factions of Christendom, and himself at home be left destitute of children, what the world would conceive of his judgment and of his natural affection. He considered the danger, himself being now aged, if he should die, what then might befall his children. He considered that the kingdom was as well settled in government as any kingdom in the world; that outwardly we were at peace with all nations; that there was no discontentment at home; that when he went into Scotland, he did not as much as set up a match, but all was very safely preserved in an ordinary form of government. He considered that when the whole kingdom had revolted from King John, yet he dying, they did

all join together to crown his young son King Henry the Third ; and when he died, Edward the First, his son and heir, was then in the Holy Land, and returned about a year after, yet all things were kept in safety. The greatest thing that was feared, was because France, through which he was to travel, was full of straggling soldiers, armies being then newly disbanded. But it was answered, that in France they never rob in multitudes, but only single men ; and what with the prince's own company, what with the posts and keeping great roads, they were out of fear. So now upon a Monday the King removes to Theobald's ; upon Tuesday he takes horse to go towards Royston, and then it was given out that the King had given leave to the prince to be absent two or three days with Buckingham.

And coming to take their leaves of the King, the King told them, " See that you be with me upon Friday night." Then Buckingham replied, " Sir, if we should stay a day or two longer ; I hope your majesty would pardon us."—" Well, well," quoth the King ; and so they parted. The King did then express no passion at all, he never looked back or expressed any the least sorrow ; for he was an excellent master of his own affections, if you would give him a little respite and not take him suddenly. He carried himself as though there were no such thing intended, and so he took his journey through Royston and New-

market. The prince and the duke went with a very small company; and upon every occasion they did dismiss some of that company, sending one this way and another that way upon idle occasions, only to be rid of them. They went that night to New Hall in Essex, a house of the Duke of Buckingham's which he purchased of the Earl of Sussex, which was built by the Lord Chamberlain Sussex, a house of very great state and magnificence. The next day they went to Gravesend, and thence to Canterbury, and so to Dover. There they took order to stop the ports, that there should be no passage for some eight or ten days. In their journey towards Paris they did not ride all together, and, as I take it, there were not above five or six in the company,—Cottington and Endimion, Porter, &c. An Englishman coming then for England, knew the prince and the duke, and meeting some behind whom he thought to be of their company, he asked them, "I pray, where are the prince and the duke going?"—"Truly," said he, "I left them both at court."—"Truly," said the gentleman, "yonder is a couple as like them as ever I saw in my life."*

* Their journey is minutely described by Sir Henry Wotton, in his "View of the Life and Death of the Duke of Buckingham." His narrative agrees very closely with Goodman's. See also the letters upon this subject in the Second Volume of these Memoirs.

The prince and the duke coming to Paris, they spent some two days in seeing the King's Court; and they had the convenience to see the Queen in a mask which was to be presented before the King. The rewards which they gave to those which did show them, were so great, that these did easily conceive them to be great men. So they left the court and went on their journey to Spain; and it was five or six days after before the French Court had any notice of their being there, and then they were out of reach. But had they been then in Paris, I am confident the French king would have taken no notice of them, for that were to give them some offence, seeing they came in a private way that no notice should be taken of them. Again, princes in amity have the same liberty that other men have,—that, keeping themselves within compass of laws, they may in a private way pass through other kings' dominions; and this according to the law of nations. So the French king with his honour could not interrupt them.

Hitherto I believe that the Earl of Bristol and Sir Walter Aston were no way acquainted with the journey. But some few days before their coming into Spain, they had notice thereof, whereby they might make some preparation for his entertainment. And so, coming to Madrid, they lighted at the Earl of Bristol's house, where they lodged and were entertained for a day or

two. It being now no longer concealed, but openly given out that the Prince of Wales was arrived; whereupon Count Olivares, the Spanish favourite, sent to beg leave by the ambassador's means that he might come to kiss the prince's hand and to do his service. In a word, the prince had as great entertainment, as much respect, and as frequent access to the lady, as Spain or any other nation could afford, or as in reason the prince could expect. The King gave always the prince the upper hand, excepting only in the prince's own lodgings. The presents which were sent the prince were as great as could be expected. The Queen of Spain, a daughter of France, sent the prince a basin and ewer of pure gold as massy as a strong man could well manage. It weighed above £900; and I think together with it there was a rich night-gown very excellently perfumed. It is not my intent to dwell upon compliments; what cost and sumptuous entertainment there was when he was publicly and solemnly brought into Madrid. Here the pope took occasion to write unto the prince, and the prince returned an answer in a general way, and in a very wise, discreet manner; such as could be no way offensive, and such as the strictest puritan could take no exceptions against. And surely the Spaniard did every day more and more affect and respect the prince. For the good duke, I cannot deny but that he did a little offend

in his wantonness. For the Spanish ladies having their bodies scorched up with the sun, they have not *corpus succi plenum*, as the comedian saith; whereby they are not so inclined to that vice as others are; and therefore therein Buckingham did mistake in his choice: besides the strictness of their confession and religion which so much extols chastity. This I will say in my own knowledge of Buckingham, though I was never his ghostly father, no man could be more sorrowful and penitent for offending in that kind than Buckingham was. And seeing that the knight taxeth almost every man for that offence, as I do not excuse Buckingham for the crime, so I commend him for his penitency. He that sinned with David became a true penitent with David. Yet I confess that in that regard Buckingham was not so gracious with the Spanish nation.

CHAPTER XXII.

The quarrels of Buckingham and Bristol in Spain.—Offers made by the Spaniard to Bristol.—Conway's submissiveness to the Duke.—Secretary Calvert a secret Roman Catholic.—James' heart set upon the Spanish match; his conversation with Hudson about it;—means used to break it off.—The King retains, notwithstanding, his affection for Buckingham, particularly the Duke's children.

THE difference, as I conceive, between Buckingham and Bristol was this. The duke desiring to conceal his coming into Spain, did not take out a commission as for an extraordinary ambassador, but conceived it sufficient that he came in the prince's company, and was known to be the King's favourite; whereas Bristol had his commission sealed. Olivares complaining of the duke to his own king, the Spanish King stood not so well affected unto him as Buckingham expected he should; insomuch that being ready to take the fresh air, and the coach being in readiness, the first place was given to our prince, the second the King of Spain took; and because the coach would very well contain four, the Spanish King called Bristol to take the third place as being an

extraordinary ambassador under the great seal and representing the King's person, therefore he was to be preferred before Buckingham. This Buckingham took very unkindly and thought himself much neglected; and certainly Bristol might have done very well to have excused himself, or to have pretended business and so to depart, — for there should be no competition or emulation between them both, especially in the agitation of such a business wherein both of them did really and truly aim and intend it: and that Sir Walter Aston should adhere to the prince and the duke, in wisdom he could do no less, considering who were nearest the King, from whom he had his commission. But I am sure that Sir Walter hath made a very honourable mention of the Earl of Bristol even in this business, acquitting him that he could not be justly blamed. And whereas some say that Bristol did so much adhere to the Spaniard, certainly I cannot think so; for it once lay in his power and he had a commission to conclude the marriage if he thought fit, but he forbore. There were three at that time who were thought to have got much of the Spaniard, — Middlesex, Bristol, and Secretary Calvert. For Middlesex, I heard him protest that he never got anything of the Spaniard. Indeed, the Hollanders once upon composing a difference gave him a double reward, being then treasurer, and having been a merchant, and knowing very

well the state of Holland : herewith Middlesex acquainted King James, as he did with all other his private passages. The King answered, that the Hollanders were now grown as wise as the Indians, who were wont to offer up double sacrifice to the devil lest he should hurt them. For the Earl of Bristol, I heard him speak it in parliament how little he had gotten by the Spaniard, happily a hatband, or some such thing. Indeed, when the match with Spain was clean broken off, and it was thought that it would light very heavy upon Bristol, and Buckingham had made a motion at the council-board, that as soon as Bristol came over he might instantly be committed, lest he might be an agent under the Spaniard to draw on the match again, which was now so utterly detested and broken off by the parliament, and Buckingham so highly extolled and commended for being an instrument therein, which was made known unto Bristol by William Earl of Pembroke, and so testified by him in open parliament,—then did the Spaniard make great offers to Bristol, if he would but stay in that country, that he should not want honourable maintenance for himself and his issue. Bristol gave him great thanks, but said that he gave God thanks he served a just master, who he knew would give him hearing ; and rather than a blemish should be upon him and his posterity, he would first acquit himself before he would accept any favour from

a foreign prince. And thereupon he came over to justify himself. Then did Bristol complain that upon the death of King James, Secretary Conway wrote unto him a note, that now the King was dead, he should take notice that he was under restraint. Whereas Bristol said that liberty was natural to men, and none were to be abridged thereof but upon just cause and a commitment. He did likewise accuse the secretary for being a creature of Buckingham's, and being a councillor and a lord, that he began his letters in these words — *Most gracious patron*, writing to the duke.*

The third man who was thought to gain by the Spaniard was Secretary Calvert; and as he was the only secretary employed in the Spanish match, so undoubtedly he did what good offices he could therein for religion's sake, being infinitely addicted to the Roman Catholic faith, having been converted thereunto by Count Gondomar and Count Arundel, whose daughter Secretary Calvert's son had married. And, as it was said, the secretary did usually catechize his own children so to ground them in his own religion, and in his best room having an altar set up, with chalice, candlesticks, and all other ornaments, he brought all strangers thither, never concealing anything, as if his whole joy and comfort had been to make open profession of his religion. Now this man

* See the letters in the Second Volume.

did protest to a friend of his own that he never got by the Spaniards so much as a pair of pockets; which, it should seem, is a usual gift among them, being excellently perfumed, and may be valued at twenty nobles or ten pounds price. So although the Spaniard gave largely for the procuring of a peace, because he did perfectly foresee that a peace with England would draw on a peace with Holland, yet since he hath not been so submissive as to buy any man's favour, the true cause of the breach of the match with Spain, as I take it, was only this. Upon the prince's coming to Spain some did conceive that cunning King James had a policy in it, that if the match had been here in England concluded, the Spaniard would have expected some speedy and real performance, especially in matters of religion, which either the King could not legally do,—or if he should do it *de facto*, he might conceive it dangerous. Therefore he gave way the rather that the prince should go into Spain, that being there in his own person they would accept of promises, which the King might have some convenient time with his own best advantage to perform. The match was soon concluded in Spain, but it could not be perfected without the pope's dispensation, and he would not dispense without some free use and liberty of religion. This message was brought to the Spaniard, and he sends unto England. King James returns a fair answer

to Madrid; thence it is sent up to Rome; the pope would not accept of it without some speedy security; after some debate it was at length resolved upon that the King of Spain should be surety for the real performance; and desirous they were of the match, though some feared that they never intended it. King James came to Windsor, and his old servant Hudson made bold to tell him, "I hope, if it please your majesty, all things go well in Spain." To whom the King made this answer,—“As well as my heart can desire, I thank God for it;” and a little after, when the King had heard that the Spaniard's security was taken and that the match was absolutely concluded, he spoke these words: “All the devils in hell cannot break it.” I had at that time the age of all the King of Spain's children, and I did believe that the match might be solemnized upon the lady's birthday, which fell out in July or in August; my books are plundered, and I have forgotten the time, but I did mark and observe King James how he did carry himself upon that day, and truly he was wonderfully joyful, and extraordinary mirth possessed him, whereby I did conjecture with myself, that that might be the day of the marriage; but a little after the King's great ships were sent to fetch home the prince and his lady, the preparation was such, and the commanders of those ships were such, being three Catholic lords—the Earl

of Rutland, my Lord Windsor, and my Lord Morley,—that certainly the King never doubted but that the marriage was past; yet they found it otherwise. But in regard the ships were now come, that the winter drew on, and that the King had been sick in the prince's absence,* and therefore desired to have him at home, the prince took his leave of the Court of Spain, yet still pretending that he had a full resolution that the match should go on, and the King of Spain gave him great presents, horses and other gifts, which certainly he would never have done if he had thought that the match had been quite broken.

The putting off the solemnity of the match was, as I think, upon this occasion; that a little before it should be finished, Pope Gregory, who had granted the dispensation, died, and consequently his act was of no validity, and therefore they must stay the election of a new pope, and he must be authorised and all the ceremonies of inauguration completed before it was fit to propose a foreign act, and a new dispensation should be procured. I have heard some protestants, and others who little esteem the Church of Rome, say, that whatsoever faculties are procured in Rome, are but formalities and ceremonies, and that the Catholic princes do as little respect the pope's bulls as the Protestants do; which indeed is utterly untrue. The pope amongst Catholics

* See the letters of the King in the Second Volume.

is as powerful a governor as any temporal prince. Nay, I dare further say, that in the Indies and in several parts of the world where the Spaniard hath scattered dominions, if their dependence upon the Church of Rome were not a greater tie upon them than is the Spaniard's temporal power, certainly they would very soon cast off the yoke of that government, and therefore if he respects his temporal wealth he must hold a good correspondence with Rome, and not give an example to his subjects of any disobedience to that see; and therefore they do utterly mistake who think that the want of a dispensation was but an idle pretence to break off the marriage.

The prince being now returned, by degrees took more and more occasion to show his utter dislike of that marriage; he recalled his proxy, which he had left with Bristol: for the golden basin which the Queen of Spain had given him, he gave it to one of his footmen; wherein he did ill to put such a disgrace upon the Queen, who had never offended him. The Lady Mary, to whom he was a suitor, sending him a great present of sweetmeats, he gave them to some mean people in contempt; so now the world took notice that the match was broke off and not to be pieced together again, for that scorn and contempt are not usually forgotten.

Here then he begins to run into another course. Count Mansfield, who took upon him to be a

general under the Palsgrave, but indeed was a vagrant, receiving all such fugitives and desperate soldiers who did associate themselves unto him without pay, without discipline, (only where there was a fear of a mutiny himself with his own hand would pistol them,) went up and down robbing and spoiling the country, and now at last was here entertained with honour in the same lodgings which were intended for the lady princess. His coming was to get a press of men to recover the palatinate, and truly many of them were even starved at sea; never did men commit such outrages and villanies in their going out, never men returned again in so short a time so miserable, carried in carts and no way able to help themselves, yet they never fought with any enemy but hunger and nastiness: and so that army came to nothing.

There was then a great fleet prepared which lay long hovering at sea without pay or other means or preparations to set out; but I do verily believe that this was without the King's knowledge, for I dare boldly say that neither the prince nor the duke nor all his council could have prevailed with him to have commenced a war without just cause. The navy went out after the death of King James, and by the number of ships being eighty-eight, some did conceive that it was in revenge of an invasion which had place almost sixty years before. Notwithstanding the league since made,

and that Queen Elizabeth in her time had sufficiently revenged it by sending out her navy in that unfortunate Portugal voyage, and after in the fortunate voyage to Cadiz, and after that again in the unhappy island voyage, and since there have been two offers of marriage, nothing would serve to blot out the memory of 88, and I do fear that the causes which were then taken were not pleasing to God, for never man did desire wars more than King Charles, and never man was more unfortunate in all his wars than King Charles.

The Duke of Buckingham did once tell me, alleging the cause of the breach of that marriage, as I did then understand him, that the principal was, that the Spaniard neither would nor was able to pay the portion down in one entire sum, but would pay it by degrees, by way of pension or an annuity, thereby, as he conceived, to have a greater tie upon the King upon all occasions, which he thought but base for the King to accept.

The knight seems to accuse a poor spirited nobility for enduring Cranfield's perching upon that high tree of honour, as to be lord high treasurer. You shall then understand that the Saxon kings kept little estate. Edward the Confessor kept his treasure in his own chamber, and his servant Hugolin kept the keys of the chest. The Normans took more state upon them, to accustom their sub-

jects to the greater obedience; for so they took themselves to be conquerors, whereas indeed William the First pretended a title and fought against an usurper. Neither could the loss of one small battle conquer England. He was invited hither, and divers came in to him with an intent to assist him; but indeed he conquered England, and together he conquered his own soldiers by the yoke of his laws. Then Henry the Second, who of all the Normans was the most powerful king, being the son of an empress, began to take more state upon him, and to keep his subjects at a greater distance, until at length Planta Genista became Planta Arida. As they succeeded the Curtois, so the Welsh Tudors succeeded them. Henry the Seventh, being born in Wales, descended from Welsh progenitors, had a Welsh name, and he with his penal laws did much take down the courage of the people. Then Henry the Eighth, who put all things into a more magnificent way, holding it fit that his great officers should take place of his nobility, and reposing more trust in them who did depend upon his own will than such as did claim honourably inheritance, therefore by Act of Parliament their place and precedence was assigned them, that so sitting first at council and courts, and speaking first and ordering things there, knowing the king's mind more than others, they might be the better enabled to do him service. Now for any man to oppose this order, is not only to contradict the

King, but to offend against an Act of Parliament, which would have cost them dear, and therefore it did not argue the poorness of spirit, as the knight reports, but their prudence and loyalty, knowing that their own honour did at first proceed from the crown, and that they had as mean or meaner beginning than my Lord Cranfield had. I could once have showed the originals of all the nobility, their descent, their matches, their revenues, but all is plundered! Let it suffice that there were at that time as wise and as brave noblemen as ever this kingdom had; Edward Earl of Worcester, William Earl of Pembroke, &c.; and among the Scots, Ludovic Duke of Lenox, James Marquis Hamilton. But it is to be feared lest the knight were not of such a peaceable disposition as he should be, but desired to sow the seeds of faction and sedition.

That the King should hate Buckingham while he was in Spain, and that he should think it no ill bargain to lose his only son, so Buckingham might be lost also, this hath no colour of truth; for even at his being in Spain, he gave him the title of Duke and made his younger brother Earl of Anglesey; and it was as much as the Duchess of Lenox could do to procure for her husband when he was to be made Duke of Richmond the priority of Buckingham, wherein she did allege to the King the honour of his paternal house. And at that time, while the duke was in Spain, the King would

reserve unbestowed some preferments to which the duke at his return might recommend them. And the King did usually send for the nurse and the duke's children into his own bed-chamber, and there play with them many hours together. And the King being once with the children, news was brought him that there was an ambassador come to speak with him; whereupon he willed the nurse to stay there with the children, and when he had spoken with the ambassador he would come again to her. This the nurse herself told me.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Lord Evers reproved for circulating rumours of the King's retiring into private life. — Kelly's matches.—The Duchess of Richmond's intrigue for procuring his match with a rich widow.—Yelverton, and the occasion of his fall.

Now whereas it is said, *that in the parliament before, the King grew weary of Buckingham and gave way to his ruin*, the truth is, that Buckingham was not then known to the King. Never did any man so much mistake in the time as the knight doth. For first he speaks of the fall of Middlesex, and after he comes to the breaking of the Spanish match; whereas, notwithstanding, in the fall of Middlesex he seems there to imply that it was after the return of the prince. For the Spanish ambassador was then in London and did see him go into court, and by the common fame we heard that he did complain of Buckingham, for making a relation of his being and entertainment in Spain, which was full of untruths, though the prince did confirm every word of it. And then, as it was said, he did acquaint the King that some were whispering that the par-

liament would desire the King to retire to a private life, and follow his studies for his employment and his hunting for his recreation, and that he would repose the trust for managing the government unto his son, whom they found active and able to undertake it; and this they might rather infer by the example of Henry the Second, who having had much troubles before he came to the crown, did after desire to associate his eldest son Henry with himself in the government, who was crowned together with him, that so he might settle the inheritance of the crown in his posterity. Out of this common report I have heard that a nobleman of this kingdom, my Lord Evers, should relate it as a thing already concluded, and this he said in the company of some gentlemen who, fearing to conceal a business of such a dangerous consequence, (there might likewise be some other bye respects not fit for me to take notice of,) they made oath and found means to complain to the King, who, considering the words, did conclude that they were no less than high treason, yet, persuading himself that my lord had no malicious intent therein, but that they were words spoken at random and out of a common report, and the King, not willing to search things to the bottom, as it might be reduced to the parliament, and that the prince and the duke might be found to have given some occasion of such a report, therefore the King sent to my

Lord Evers, that it was no less than high treason. Yet upon his submission he was content to forgive him only upon this condition, that he should sue out his pardon for treason, and so he did.

Whereas he intimates that Prince Henry did hate the whole family for their general baseness; certainly Buckingham was very young in his time, and then was travelling, and was neither seen nor known of him. And for these affronts which Buckingham is here said to give Prince Charles, bidding the prince, &c. &c., and then offering to strike the prince; if ever such things passed, when I consider the sweetness of the condition of the Duke of Buckingham, who scarce did ever give any man evil words or language, but if there were any such thing, I do easily believe that it was by direction. For I know that both King James and Prince Charles were not altogether free from such projects. Thus the knight reports, that when the King himself did countenance Sir Arthur Ingram in his office, yet he set Kelly to stir up the officers against him: that if the King, disliking this great inward friendship between the prince and the duke, should cause Buckingham to do this, and that Buckingham, acquainting the prince therewith, it should be done with his consent and good liking, that so the King might be less suspicious and Buckingham have this advantage, that if any one hereby should take occasion to be his accuser, he

might have the better opportunity to suppress him.

For the story of Padre Maestre, the Spanish Jesuit, that he should tell the King that he was to be killed by Buckingham or by his means, and this he should know in confession; truly, I conceive that there was no colour of truth in this. For that Buckingham should not carry it more closely, he might have considered the example of his predecessor Somerset, that it should be revealed in confession, he might have remembered the example of Garnet in the Powder Plot, that Buckingham's agents, who certainly were English, that they should have a Spanish Jesuit for their confessor. In confession all things are punctually related, and one man is not to accuse another, but to accuse himself; and therefore, that the Jesuit should relate *that the King was to be killed either by Buckingham or by his procurement; but whether by poison, pistol, dagger, he could not tell*: it should seem the knight knows but little what belongs to confession.

And that Buckingham should fly upon Kelly and *ask him how he durst bring any one in to the King in his absence or without his licence*, I shall never believe these words to proceed from him, for it had been sufficient for him to have spoken unto him in this manner if the King had been his close prisoner. Kelly was the prime gentleman of the bed-chamber and of a desperate estate;

he had nothing to lose, nor did he expect to get anything by Buckingham; and King Charles succeeding put him out of his office, which was groom of the stole, which is an office which hath the best diet in the court, drest in the King's own kitchen in the best manner, and the King did usually recommend guests to that table, especially such as were to be employed in the King's most private occasions, and therefore fit it was that a man of special trust should have that office, lest the King's business might sometimes be fished out and conjectured.

But though he lost his office, as many others did, yet certainly he lived upon the King's bounty; but whether the monies were well paid or not I doubt; for these were times of want, and I am sure, whether out of love and affection or for the saving of his own purse, King Charles was very desirous to take any occasion to provide for Kelly, whereof I will give you this one instance. Kelly's wife, a Pierrepont, was sister to the great, rich Earl of Kingston, who, as my Lord Lake told me, (who was his near neighbour and knew his estate very well,) had purchased at least ten thousand pounds per annum, by whom he had a great portion, and who having ever lived in a very plentiful way, did now fall into melancholy and much grief, and she never came out of her chamber, and this came out of a consideration of her own wants. This lady dying, then was Kelly to get another rich wife for his support; yet he was old, no

comely gentleman, and but a Scots earl, generally known to be very poor though a Knight of the Garter; and very speedily he finds out a very fit lady whose husband lately died, and that was the lady Viscountess Kilmarnock, who had several husbands. As I take it, her first husband was Packington, the great courtier in Queen Elizabeth's time. This lady was supposed to be very rich in money, plate and jewels, and having been several times visited by Kelly, she still gave him a denial. At length it was thus contrived: that the Duchess of Richmond, having a little acquaintance with this Viscount Kilmarnock, should invite her to her house, and at the same time the King coming there to visit the duchess, he should be an earnest solicitor in the behalf of Kelly. And all things fell out accordingly. For when the King was there, it pleased my lady duchess to take the viscountess by the hand, and bringing her to the King, said, "This lady is my Lord of Kelly's mistress." Whereupon the King replied, "Truly, Kelly is a very honest man, and with whom you shall live very comfortably and well: I have ever found him faithful and trusty, and I pray let me have the honour to hasten on that marriage." To whom the lady answered, "I am at your majesty's disposing." And I think there was some promise then made of a pension or a jointure out of the Exchequer, and that the King should say he would not see Kelly want.

Here you must observe, that Queen Mary going

to her own chapel every Sunday, the English ladies must have some rendezvous where to meet to show their beauties and braveries ; and the fittest place was thought to be Exeter House, where the Duchess of Richmond then lay. And observing state, both in going to the closet and coming thence after sermon, she had a cup of wine and some small banquet to entertain the ladies, which gave them much content, and there was a great resort. Only I think my Lady Hatton was not invited : these two ladies had great spirits, and they were not easily reconciled. And thus the great duchess made that good use of her acquaintance to procure Kelly a rich marriage.

But, in a word, soon after the marriage, Kelly took occasion to break open trunks, to seize upon money and jewels, and there was great discontentment between them. Truly, Kelly was a very honest-natured man, but his own wants and necessity did enforce him to do what he did, and therefore he was the more to be pitied.

The prince and the duke having laid so many scorns upon the Spaniard, it was no marvel if the Spanish ambassador did seem so much to slight them. Neither do I think that the prince would then offer to write to the King of Spain, standing upon so ill terms as he did ; or if the prince should so much mistake, the Spaniard was not to be blamed for returning his letter. But I doubt of all this relation, as likewise for that

which follows I know to be false. Whereas it is said that Yelverton was a very faithful servant to the King, most certain it is that Yelverton did much favour the Puritans. I have heard him in the parliament-house deliver a strange doctrine, in effect this: that one man could receive no benefit by another man's prayers. The fall of Yelverton, as it was then reported, was, that he had informed in the Star-chamber against the Dutch merchants for transporting gold. Thereupon, his information being very slightly proved, they were deeply censured and paid great fines for their offence. Now, lest the Dutch merchants might be discouraged to live any longer here, and transplanting themselves, they might either by bill of exchange or otherwise convey over their great banks of monies to the impoverishing of this kingdom, therefore they must be some way satisfied and have some contentment, and therefore Yelverton, as for other private causes so for this, must be offered up in sacrifice.

Now, that Yelverton should say that the King did hate Buckingham more than any man living, truly, when Yelverton was committed, Buckingham was but newly come to favour, and it was impossible for one man to dote more upon another than the King did upon Buckingham. And certainly the King did never any way dislike him but upon carriage of the business in Spain, wherein he out of his old wits and kingcraft did discern

a great deal more than green heads could do, that it would tend to the breach of the peace, and if he should enter into a war, being wholly exhausted and depending upon the good will of his subjects, he knew they would not supply his wants but for their own advantage, and that they would propose such conditions as it would not stand with monarchy to accept; as indeed they did in that very parliament: for giving subsidies, they would not suffer the King's collectors to receive them, nor the King to dispose of them; but others were to distribute them and to give an account to the parliament, which did infinitely disparage the King's wisdom and power, as much in effect as if they should say, *We will not have this man to reign over us.* All this did follow the breach of that match, which the old King did foresee, but the young heads did not.

And whereas the knight saith that Yelverton had been lord keeper had not death prevented; whatsoever he relates was in the time of King James. And certain it is, that Yelverton lived long after Coventry was made lord keeper. For Yelverton and myself did meet together at my Lord Keeper Coventry's house, where Yelverton was pleased to tell me some news of great tumults and uproars which were in the borders between Scotland and England, where he himself did ride in circuit. And for the hastening of the King's death, I shall speak hereafter.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The story of the Tailor at Dartford. — Anecdote of Winwood's meanness. — Bristol and Buckingham in Spain. — Bristol's address to the Prince in the Spanish Court. — Charges against Bristol. — Causes of the death of King James. — Instance of his love of raw fruits. — Fell sick of a quartan ague. — The charge against Buckingham examined, who is said to have applied a plaster to the dying King. — The Author's own opinion.

AND whereas he speaks of King James's cowardly disposition, that he durst not revenge himself on Buckingham; he that shall think of the King's wisdom cannot but acknowledge that the King knew his own power. And he that shall consider how many lord keepers, lord treasurers, lord admirals, and what he intended for the little, great Salisbury, and at one time to cast out Somerset, Treasurer Suffolk, and in him in effect to reject the whole family of the Howards, he would never think King James to be a coward. For I pray, what supporters had Buckingham at that time?—surely none at all. It is true that afterwards his daughter was married to the son of Montgomery, the heir of the Herberts; but it is as true that the Earl of Pembroke would not settle his estate upon him. And it is true that

of all other lords Pembroke did least stoop to the favourites, or any way insinuate himself; though in courtesy and humanity he did not offend them.

That the wisdom and gravity of the Spaniard failed him in letting the prince go: certainly the knight doth a little resemble Sir Politic Would-be, to lay aside all honesty, morality, humanity, or whatsoever else might betoken the honour and religion of a state, and to reduce all to his own heathenish, foolish, and political observations. And it is not unlike but he borrowed such fancies from a robber that was executed at Maidstone in Kent; and I will tell you the story.

There was a poor tailor in Dartford who could not thrive by his trade, and he did resolve to become a robber or a highway-man; and being confident that he should have good booties, he caused a scrivener there to write two or three bonds, wherein men should be bound unto him in a bond of forty, fifty, or sixty pounds a bond. The scrivener told him that he thought he had not been worth so much. "Yes," quoth the tailor, "I have more than men think I have." This was but only a preparation that men should not wonder when they did see him flow with money. This tailor did corrupt the post-boy, that whensoever any Spaniard or outlandish man should come in the night, he should give him notice. And there it was agreed between them,

that the post-boy riding first, they should first strike at him and he should fall from his horse, and then the stranger could not tell which way to ride, and then they should fall upon him and take his money. Now, the company which should stand there to entrap them should be the tailor and his boy, and another young fellow of the town, who spoke the languages, and was an interpreter to all strangers who came thither, who should be disguised and say nothing. So then, very shortly after, the post-boy gave notice to the tailor, and he to his boy and the interpreter. They went to lie in wait in the way, and things fell out as they plotted. The post-boy upon the least touch falls from his horse and cries out; it was then very dark and the stranger could discern little: then they set upon the stranger, robbed him of all his money, as they did the post-boy. Presently the three came home, and the stranger did unloose himself and did offer to unloose the post-boy, and he would not, but would go home that his master might see how he was bound. When the stranger was come to his inn, presently they sent for this interpreter, and he interpreted as he thought fit; and so it was a robbery cunningly contrived. The next justice of peace examining the post-boy and finding that he would not be untied because his master should see how he was bound, presently conceived by that poor circumstance that the boy

might be conspiring in the business, yet was it no sufficient proof to commit him.

The King hearing that all the letters into Spain were intercepted and that the messenger was robbed, did resolve to use all possible diligence and to find out the thieves, and to that end, very privately and secretly, notice was given to all the goldsmiths, that if any one should come thither to change but a Spanish piece of gold, they should instantly apprehend him, and bring him to the secretary. About a fortnight after, the man came to exchange a piece, and was apprehended and brought to the secretary, who examining him where he dwelt, he said, at Dartford. Then inquiring where he had that piece of gold, he said, of the interpreter, and he of the post-boy. Asking him whether he did see it or had any witnesses of it, he said that his own boy did know it. The tailor was committed to prison, and instantly one was sent to bring up these three by a warrant to testify some things; and while they were going, by the way, the messenger being a cunning man, fastened on the young boy, and told him that the tailor had discovered all, and if he would save his own life he should never deny it, but confessing upon his knees, ask God forgiveness, and then there would be some hope of pardon. Hereupon the boy did confess that he was drawn into the business,—that he knew not wherefore his master went forth, but thought it might be upon

some other business ; and so the whole matter was discovered, and they were sent to Maidstone gaol, and being found guilty and condemned, the interpreter found out another trick. They were condemned on Saturday ; the execution was to be on Monday ; on Sunday they were to receive the communion. The interpreter did desire that the mayor and some aldermen of Maidstone might be present at his receiving of the communion, for that he had special great business to impart unto them of extraordinary great moment ; and being to receive, he said thus to the mayor and aldermen, that what he should reveal was most true, and to that end he was ready to take oath, and did take the sacrament upon it, and did so wish as God should be merciful unto him in Christ, as he should relate nothing unto them but the truth :—that he found about the Spaniard a spectacle-case, and in that case a letter written to this effect : that they should keep the prince in Spain, and not dismiss him upon any other terms but these,—that they should first have the possession of the Cinque Ports, and part with him upon no other conditions. This confession of the prisoner was taken in writing, subscribed by the mayor and aldermen, and instantly sent up by them to the secretary, and the sheriff was entreated by them to respite his execution for one day, which was granted. The secretary acquainted the King with the business, who cried out,

“Hang him, knave! hang him, knave! Doth he think to save his life by lying?” And so word was presently sent that he should be executed.

And surely such reports as the knight makes might first proceed from this thief that was executed: the father of lies could not invent a worse, nor a more improbable. It is true that Charles the Fifth, having Francis the First, the French king, in his custody, made him yield to very unreasonable conditions; but Francis was taken in the war, and therefore it might stand with honour and justice to impose upon him such a yoke. But when as Charles himself was in France and in England, and came freely, then to put him to his ransom had been against the laws of humanity. And should princes make their advantage and offend therein, it would be of such ill example and of such a dangerous consequence, as that in effect it would take away all society between man and man; for if princes may do this, why may not subjects? Thus, then, at sea, the stronger should ever take the weaker, and having hold of his person without any cause or offence should put him to his ransom, and when the ransom was paid still he hath the same right to impose other conditions. How do these politicians such as the knight is dishonour mankind, and make them worse than devils! For the devil in tormenting man gets no acquisition to himself; he doth not enrich himself by other men's

booties, spoils, or plunderings, but contents himself to execute his own office in tormenting others. Again, the devil is tied to some laws and cannot punish but where there is an offence ; but the knight makes the power of mankind to be unlimited in all malicious iniquity, such ground and foundation doth this man lay of his wicked policy.

Ambassadors, as they are for the most part active men, so they desire to be single and the only actors in business ; whereof I shall give you one instance. The peace being concluded between King James, the Spaniard, and the Archduke Albert, several ambassadors were appointed to be resident with them, as Sir Thomas Edmonds with the Archduke Albert, Cornwallis in Spain, Sir Ralph Winwood with the Hollanders. Then men are in effect only sent over in compliment, that the world might take notice that these princes hold good correspondence together. And lest there might be any misconstruction of these actions, or lest any occasion of offence should be given, they were ready to excuse and make the best of things ; but these active spirits could not so content themselves with compliments and ceremonies, but truly they would be further active and have done very ill offices in the Christian world, as I have made it plainly appear in my plundered papers. Now, of these ambassadors Sir Ralph Winwood had the most gainful place among the Hollanders, for thither our merchant

adventurers carry their cloths, who upon occasions are not the worst clients. He did likewise recommend many colonels, captains, and many other English officers of war. He was likewise by composition one of the council of state; and the Hollander having in effect the sea-trading of Christendom, many things fell out wherein Sir Ralph had employment which did not tend to his loss. Here then very shortly after a peace was concluded between the Spaniard and the Hollander, by the means and intercession of King James and the French King. In concluding this peace, because the Archduke Albert was therein included, therefore Sir Thomas Edmonds would fain interpose in the business. But Sir Ralph Winwood, the ambassador with Holland, would exclude him; and surely the Hollander did adhere to Winwood. And Edmonds not being employed, he did much tax Winwood, that scholars were factious and not fit to be employed; that having once been canvassed for proctorships in the University, as Sir Ralph Winwood was, that they were of an unquiet spirit and did intrude themselves too far, and assume too much to themselves. That Winwood had much dishonoured this kingdom; for being presented by the Hollanders with a golden basin and ewer, he sent it instantly to the mint and carried it away in a bag. This I heard from Edmonds and from his lady. In a word, I did never greatly approve of Lieger ambassadors.

Thus it fell out in the Spanish match. Bristol had been long employed therein, and had brought it to very good ripeness, and that in a grave and a royal way, and did desire to have the honour of that match ; while Buckingham acted like a favourite, and not like an extraordinary ambassador. For at first the suddenness, or at leastwise the secrecy of his journey would not admit to stay for a patent and to put seals unto it ; for that was to divulge all. And my Lord Zouch told me in Dover Castle, that if he had known of their going beyond seas, he would have stopped them both. Now that this commission of an extraordinary ambassador should not be sent after the duke, was a great omission. For princes desire to have their acts authentical appear under seals ; favourites are not unlike fancies, which may rise in an instant and fall in a moment. And the course which Buckingham took was not in the same way with Bristol. And if any one here shall accuse Buckingham with wantonness, truly I fear I shall not be able to acquit him, though I did most dearly love him.

Upon their accusations of each other in parliament upon the information of Sir Robert Heath, attorney-general, who laid high treason to Bristol's charge, Maxwell, the black rod, was sent to fetch up Bristol, who appearing in parliament, stood committed, as in course he could be no otherwise. I confess it was a very strange treason,

and if all had been proved, as nothing was proved nor could be proved for want of witnesses, for all passed in private between the King and Bristol, yet I did think that Bristol had not therein offended against any laws of this kingdom. For the manner was punctually thus: that Bristol had no hand in the prince's coming over to Spain, is most certain; that he had no knowledge of it whereby he should prevent it, is most certain: only, as I take it, he had the knowledge thereof about a week before his coming, when the prince was on his journey, that he might provide and prepare his house to give him entertainment. But when the King was now well rested, some three or four days after his coming thither, being now at good leisure and walking with Bristol in the gallery both alone, upon the sudden Bristol falls on his knee. The prince wondered at it; then Bristol spoke unto him in this manner: "If it please your highness, we that are servants to great kings and princes, and desire to do all the good offices we can, yet are not able to do them that service which they may expect from us, unless we do fully know their intentions and the end which they aim at, that so we may direct our whole course accordingly; and that I may not herein be wanting to my uttermost endeavours, I shall humbly desire your highness to give me leave to ask one question." "What is that?" quoth the prince.

So here he gave him leave to ask the question. "Then," said Bristol, "I pray, what might be the motive and true cause of your highness coming hither?" "Why," quoth the prince, "my lord, do you not know?" "No, in truth," quoth Bristol, "nor cannot imagine. The match could be no sufficient cause; for it might have been transacted in your absence, and much cost and labour have been spared. But although I cannot imagine the cause myself, yet I will tell you what others report,—that your highness hath an intent to change your religion and to become Catholic; which if your highness should do, I do neither advise nor counsel, neither do I promise to follow your example. But, according to my office, I shall do my best endeavour that things may be carried in the discreetest manner, as it may best stand with your credit, honour, and reputation."

How these words, spoken at that time, in that manner, and in that place, should amount to high treason, is beyond my conceit; only the accusation being made before the high court of parliament, having a legislative power, they may make anything high treason upon the first hearing: but this is *durissimum*, and although justifiable in the eyes of man, yet surely not justifiable in the eyes of God. It is the law which makes an offence, and there must be a publication or proclamation of the law. If man should be punished for offending against law, which law can

no way be made known unto him, then who can be innocent? I have known some who have been quartered for persuading others to be papists, as White the schoolmaster was; and, in like manner there was one in Cambridge in my time whom Judge Popham would fain have quartered for persuading one of the scholars to be a papist: but the jury found that the scholar came of himself thither with an intent to convert the papist, and the papist, in his own defence, giving an account of his faith, did convert the scholar, and the jury did acquit the papist. But certainly, by the laws, for one man to convert another, is no less than death. But this of Bristol's was out of the kingdom; neither did it concern religion, but a discreet carriage, and no kind of encouragement to the prince's conversion. Bristol came not to his answer, but he proposed certain questions which were of some moment. First, how far the testimony of one man may suffice in a case of high treason? Secondly, how far the prince, who is indeed the judge, can be an accuser, and he to whom the forfeiture is due, his testimony may serve to condemn a man? Thus much may be spoken in Bristol's defence, that if he were to be blamed in hearkening to or taking notice of such a report, then surely the pope could not be excused, who upon the same grounds took occasion to write to the prince, and the prince in courtesy to return an answer which did not displease the pope.

When several witnesses were produced whom Bristol did not know neither by sight nor name, he wondered at them, expecting some strange accusation. But it fell out otherwise, for these were merchants of good worth, and were brought in to testify the value of moneys; and they did agree thus far, that moneys were to be rated either in specie or by denomination; that the pound Hamborough was in denomination more than a pound and a half of our moneys, but in specie, according to the weight of fine silver, it did not contain so much as one of our pounds, as the twenty-two shilling piece goes now for two shillings more than it did, yet still the metal is the same. Now Bristol coming through the Palatinate, found that the Palsgrave's army was upon the point of dissolving, only for want of pay: whereupon Bristol, desiring to do the best service he could to the King as well in the Palatinate as in Spain, as well to recover the King's daughter's inheritance as to procure a wife for the King's son, thought fit of himself without any further directions to take up from the merchants by his own credit the sum of ten thousand pounds instantly to be distributed to the army to keep them together, which if they had been severed and scattered, forty thousand pounds would not have raised such an army so considerable. Now the accusation was, that Bristol did demand and had received ten thousand pounds English, which

was above three thousand pounds more than was laid out ; and seeing that he was then the King's ambassador and had a great pay, he should have dealt fairly in his accompts ; and though merchants may be merchants and gain by their bills of exchange, yet an ambassador should have dealt plainly and at least have acquainted his master, the gain being so excessive, about a third part. Bristol never came to his answer ; but some said in his excuse, that besides brokerage and interest which Bristol might pay, it may be the merchants might have the like profit from him by returning the money, though ambassadors do not give such particular accompts, but, in a free and a bountiful way, if they have anything overplus they think it beseems the magnificence of a king, and they take it as a reward for their service.

What Bristol did object against the Duke in particular, and the proofs thereof I do not well remember, neither were things complete. But this I remember : that whereas once Bristol, reckoning some misdemeanours of Buckingham and how ill the King did relish them, concluded that he did wish that these things had not been some cause to hasten the King's death ; which words were then understood as if the King had not died naturally. But the next day Bristol did expound himself, that his meaning only was in respect of the sorrow and grief which the King might

thereby conceive. And hereupon Buckingham took occasion in the parliament-house to speak of the plaister, and said that a woman had a child sick of a quartan ague in the same town, and that she did use the very same plaister to her child, and the child recovered. And when Buckingham spake of the King, he spake with tears in his eyes, expressing much sorrow that he who had been so infinitely beholden to the King for himself, for his kindred, for all his favours, that he should now be questioned for murdering him. Certainly there never lived a better natured man than Buckingham was; yet if it were fit for me to deliver mine own opinion, being the last man that did him homage in the time of his sickness, truly I think that King James every autumn did feed a little more than moderately upon fruits: he had his grapes, his nectarines, and other fruits in his own keeping; besides, we did see that he fed very plentifully on them from abroad. I remember that Mr. French of the Spicery, who sometimes did present him with the first strawberries, cherries, and other fruits, and kneeling to the King, had some speech to use to him, — that he did desire his majesty to accept them, and that he was sorry they were no better — with such like complimentary words; but the King never had the patience to hear him one word, but his hand was in the basket. After this eating of fruit in the spring time, his body fell into a great looseness, which

although while he was young did tend to preserve his health, yet now, being grown toward sixty, it did a little weaken his body, and going to Theobalds, to Newmarket, and stirring abroad when as the coldness of the year was not yet past almost, it could not be prevented but he must fall into a quartan ague, for recovery whereof the physicians taking one course, and the plaister another, I fear the King was wronged between both : and I wonder why the King's surgeons, as I take it, Mr. Watson and others who opened the body, had not been examined, as likewise Mr. Woolphengus Banger, the King's Dutch apothecary, a very honest man, who did there daily attend ; yet I confess, in my own particular, I had some informations both from him and from the surgeons, and in truth I was not well persuaded of the death of the King, nor of the Marquis Hamilton.*

* "During these agitations King James fell sick at Theobalds of a tertian ague, (commonly called), in spring ; for a king rather physical than dangerous. But soon after his ague was heightened into a fever ; four mischiefs meeting therein. First, the malignity of the malady in itself had to be cured : secondly, an aged person of sixty years current : thirdly, a plethoric body full of ill humours : fourthly, the King's averseness to physic and impatience under it. Yet the last was quickly removed, above expectation ; the King, contrary to his custom, being very orderable in all his sickness. Such sudden alterations some apprehend a certain prognostic of death ; as if when men's minds acquire new qualities, they begin to habit and clothe themselves for a new world.

"The Countess of Buckingham contracted much suspicion to

He says that Cranfield was a fellow hated for his insolence, and that his accusation was but very small : he commends some speeches that he made, but then he blames them for an ill intention, as if he could see the thoughts of his heart ; nor had he any other inherent honour than what in his apprenticeship he raked out of the channel.

herself and her son for applying a plaister to the King's wrists without the consent of his physicians. And yet it plainly appeared that Dr. John Remington, of Dunmow in Essex, made the same plaister ; one honest, able, and successful in his practice, who had cured many patients by the same ; and piece whereof applied to the King, one ate down into his belly, without the least hurt or disturbance of nature. However, after the applying thereof the King grew worse.

“ The physicians refused to administer physic unto him till the plaisters were taken off ; which being done accordingly, his fifth, sixth and seventh fits were easier, as Dr. Chambers said. On the Monday after, the plaisters were laid on again, without the advice of the physicians ; and his majesty grew worse and worse, so that Mr. Hayes, the King's surgeon, was called out of his bed to take off the plaisters. Mr. Baker, the duke's servant, made the King a jalop, which the duke brought to the King with his own hand, of which the King drank twice, but refused the third time. After his death, a bill was brought to the physicians to sign, that the ingredients of the jalop and plaisters were safe ; but most refused it, because they knew not whether the ingredients mentioned in the bill were the same in the jalop and plaisters. This is the naked truth, delivered by oath from the physicians to a select committee two years after, when the parliament voted the duke's act ‘ a transcendent presumption ; ’ though most thought it done without any ill intention.”—Fuller's Church History.

This rumour of the King being poisoned was circulated in a malicious pamphlet, by Dr. Eglishan, called “ The Forerunner of Revenge,” reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany.

And truly the knight is so bitter against all men, and so much in the commendations of old statesmen, as if they had monopolised all the blessings of God, and that God's treasures were exhausted, and that he only himself hath the understanding to discern this, and therefore is to be reputed a politic. Truly I never read a more malicious-minded author, nor any who had such poor and mean observations; some of them so foolish and malicious, that they were fitter for children: as, that the Jesuits should make the Spaniards believe that the Englishmen did look like devils; that the wisest of the Scottish nation did believe that we set up one old wife after another, that so Queen Elizabeth might never die. Sometimes he reports like an irreligious, profane man: as, that clergymen should be the worst of all men; which is to expose religion to scorn and contempt. He observes no order nor method in anything, but forward and backward, upwards and downwards; which made me that I could observe no order, but follow him in his wandering. And, to conclude, I did never think that it was the knight himself who composed this small treatise, but some other did abuse his name. Notwithstanding, I have given him the name of knight, because he hath pleased so to style himself, and that I might not offend him.

CONCLUSION.

PARALLEL BETWEEN THE TIMES OF QUEEN
ELIZABETH AND KING JAMES.

THE memory of Queen Elizabeth is so famous, and that very deservedly, that in many things I shall labour to parallel the time of King James to the happiness of her reign. As, therefore, here you say that King James concluded a peace with Spain and the Low Countries, he did therein only follow the example of Queen Elizabeth, who upon her first coming to the crown, having then wars with France, did conclude a peace, and certainly much for her own advantage. For whereas the Dolphin of France, in right of his wife Queen Mary of Scotland, did lay claim to the crown of England, and began to quarter their arms and use the title and the like, by this one treaty of peace it must be acknowledged that he did confess her title, and did treat with her as an absolute prince both for himself and in behalf of the Dolphin. And that this should be privately and secretly done, not advising with the Spaniard,

surely therein he had a special advantage ; for England and the Low Countries joined together were too hard for him and would over-master him, and soon have recovered Calais, which being taken in the heat of war, no doubt but in cold blood upon a treaty should have been restored. And indeed it had been a great convenience to have had harbours, havens, and refuges on both sides the seas. And if we have lost our right in Normandy only by prescription of time, certainly we might have very well retained Calais by the like right of prescription, for we had enjoyed it above two hundred years peaceably and quietly. So then the peace which King James concluded, howsoever it might be for prizes and booties, which are uncertain, but surely was not so prudential as the Queen's was in respect of right and inheritance.

There was another peace concluded with the Hollander, concerning the cautionary towns Flushing and Brill,* and that certainly did like-

* " This year, 1616, finally our King restored back to the United States of the Low Countries the cautionary towns of Flushing and the Brill, and received from them the money lent upon them. Many ignorant and malicious men have inveighed much against the King deceased for this action, and against Secretary Winwood as the adviser of it, never considering that now, there being peace concluded between Spain and those States, and the charge of maintaining garrisons in those towns being little or nothing less than in the time of war, it concerned his majesty in reason of state, being himself much indebted at home, both to call in the money due from the said States and to

wise tend to a great disadvantage. For whereas in Queen Elizabeth's time it was so contrived that the moneys laid out upon the cautionary towns should daily increase by the interest, now it was otherwise contrived that the debt of itself should wear out in time.

And first, the knight forgets that he should have begun with God and God's Church and the settling of religion. As then the Queen began with a conference between the popish bishops and the divines who came from beyond seas, who desired information, so King James had a con-

free himself from that great and annual charge. This also freed him from the Spaniards' jealousies and importunities, who would doubtless at last have put in themselves (from those Machiavellian principles they deal by) for to have gotten those cautionary towns into their hands. I cannot say but the Dutch by getting possession of them grew more absolute and had less dependence thereby upon England, and might in time have proved dangerous neighbours, had they been masters of all the seventeen provinces, or been sure of a perpetual peace with the Archduke and the Spaniard. But it being in a manner altogether impossible that those two suppositions should be positively verified in the United States, they show themselves devoid of all true judgment that say they are as formidable to us, or any other part of the Christian world, as Spain and the House of Austria are."—D'Ewes' MS. Journal, p. 28.

In May 1616, the King agreed to resign the cautionary towns to the States for the sum of two millions seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand florins, in lieu of eight millions, which they had promised to pay Queen Elizabeth, besides eighteen years' interest. If James was right in his policy in giving up these towns, he certainly was wrong in parting with them so cheaply. The reflections of Symonds D'Ewes are misplaced; for the question is not upon the restoration or retaining

ference at Hampton Court between the bishops and the non-conformable ministers. And see the effects of both. The popish bishops would not admit a disputation, lest thereby they might acknowledge that the Queen had power in the Church, and might appoint disputations and moderators in the disputations; as she did Sir Nicholas Bacon, her lord keeper, a man who was not thought to be indifferent, as no layman can be a competent judge, for he lived upon sacrilege, and lived in Westminster College in Queen Mary's time, when the abbot and monks were restored there, as his own daughter my Lady Periam

of the towns upon fulfilment of the stipulated conditions, but whether it was good policy to restore them for a sum so far below what was originally covenanted for. In truth, the secret history of the whole transaction appears to have been stated most clearly and fairly by Howell in one of his letters written about this time. "A good intelligent gentleman," says he, "told me the manner how Flushing and Brill, our two cautionary towns here, were redeemed; which was thus. The nine hundred and odd soldiers at Flushing and the Rammakius hardly being many weeks without their pay, they borrowed divers sums of money of the States of this town, (Middleburgh,) who finding no hopes of supplies from England, advice was sent to the States General at the Hague. They consulting with Sir Ralph Winwood, our ambassador, (who was a favourable instrument to them in this business, as also in the match with the Palsgrave,) sent instructions to the Lord Caroon, to acquaint the Earl of Suffolk, then lord treasurer, herewith; and in case they could find no satisfaction there, to make his address to the King himself, which Caroon did. His majesty being much incensed that his subjects and soldiers should starve for want of their pay in a foreign country, sent for the lord treasurer, who drawing his majesty aside, and telling how empty his exchequer was, his majesty

told me. Again, they did allege that not above two years before they had written books of the very same questions which were now proposed, and let those books be first answered and then they would reply in print, which books I have seen: that in respect of their conditions, being bishops, and in respect of their cause, they were not to expose themselves in an auditory where by all probability and likelihood some public disgrace should be put upon them: that at that instant time the Council of Trent was then in being, where the cause might be heard and de-

told the ambassador, that if his masters the States would pay the money they owed him upon those towns, he would deliver them up. The ambassador returning the next day to know whether his majesty persisted in the same resolution, in regard that at his former audience he perceived him to be a little transported, his majesty answered, that he knew the States of Holland to be his good friends and confederates both in point of religion and policy, therefore he apprehended not the least fear of any difference that should fall out between them; in contemplation whereof, if they desired to have their towns again, he would willingly surrender them. Hereupon the States made up the sum presently, which came in convenient time, for it served to defray the expensive progress he made to Scotland the summer following. When that money was lent by Queen Elizabeth, it was articulated that interest should be paid upon interest; and besides that for every gentleman who should lose his life in the State's service, they should make good five pounds to the crown of England. All this his majesty remitted, and only took the principal; and this was done in requital of that princely entertainment and great presents which my Lady Elizabeth had received in divers of their towns as she passed to Heidelberg."

terminated in the sight of the whole Christian world; neither could the place be excepted against, for that it was not within the pope's dominions nor in any great nearness to Rome, and therefore desired that things might be referred to that council.

Here the Queen was offended, and it lighted very heavy upon those who refused the conference, especially such as did mention the censures of the Church, as Winchester, Lincoln, &c. And it is to be noted that Lincoln and Abbot Feckenham, though they were committed to the Isle of Ely and the fens, which were thought to be the most unwholesome places, especially to them that were not born and bred there, yet they of all others lived longest and had their healths best, for they lived some twenty-six years after or thereabouts.

The Queen deprived all her bishops: she did not spare Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, who being then lord chancellor, took special care that Queen Mary's death should be concealed, and none should know it until himself sitting that very day in parliament desired the lords that the commons might be sent for up; who coming and expecting to have some message from the Queen, Heath acquainted them with tears that God was pleased to take the Queen to his mercy, and what a virtuous, good Queen she was. But then he added that she had a sister Elizabeth

behind to whom the right of the kingdom did devolve, and did desire that they might go jointly together to proclaim Queen Elizabeth. Then all of them cried, "Queen Elizabeth! Queen Elizabeth!" and so they went out to proclaim her. This was a very good piece of service, for by this contriving the proclaiming of the Queen was in effect an Act of Parliament, and had she no other title, or had her title, such as it was, been any way insufficient or defective, this had abundantly supplied all; so much did God bless her upon her first entrance into the kingdom. Now how Queen Elizabeth did requite this! for within four days she took the chancellorship from him, for she knew that it could not stand with her other designs that he should have the great seal. Yet she would not give the title of chancellor to any other, because he had never offended. Only she erected a new office, to make a lord keeper of the great seal, who should have the same power though not the same title. And within the compass of one year she put out him, together with all the rest of the bishops out of their bishoprics; only sometimes she came to visit Heath at his private dwelling, which was, as I take, at Cobham in Surrey, not in Kent. The Queen did not spare Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of Duresme, though some will not stick to say he was her godfather; which if he were not, it is most certain that he was there present and did officiate

at her christening. But I think he was her godfather, because I am certain he gave her Durham House in the Strand to dwell in, which she kept during her life, and did not restore it to his successors, but suffered Sir Walter Raleigh to live there. I remember, when the Bishop of Durham in the Queen's time came up to the parliament, he was fain to hire my schoolmaster's* house in Westminster to lodge in; and I remember it by this token: for at that time the Bishops of Durham in their own diocese did use that at the carrying up of their meat the trumpet should sound, which he did likewise observe at Westminster.

The Queen did not spare Bishop Oglethorpe who was the only bishop that could be persuaded to crown the Queen, for the rest of the bishops had refused, because she would not take the accustomed oath to protect the Catholic faith, and that she was supposed to be very averse to their religion. Now Oglethorpe would not crown her unless first there might be a most solemn mass, which he thought the Queen would never yield unto, having formerly bidden the priest to forbear the elevation of the body; but she did accept the condition, and was content at that time to admit all ceremonies, only she seemed to slight them, telling her ladies that the oil wherewith she was anointed was grease, and that it smelt ill.

* Camden.

But King James upon the conference at Hampton Court did absolutely conclude, No bishops, no king, no nobility; which, as you see, hath lately fallen out according to his prediction. It is the Church which supports the State, it is religion which strengtheneth the government; shake the one, and you overthrow the other. Nothing is so deeply rooted in the hearts of men as religion, nothing so powerful to direct their actions; and if once the hearts of the people be doubtful in religion, all other relations fail, and you shall find nothing but mutinies and sedition. **THUS THE CHURCH AND THE STATE DO MUTUALLY SUPPORT AND GIVE ASSISTANCE TO EACH OTHER; AND IF ONE OF THEM CHANGE, THE OTHER CAN HAVE NO SURE FOUNDATION.**

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